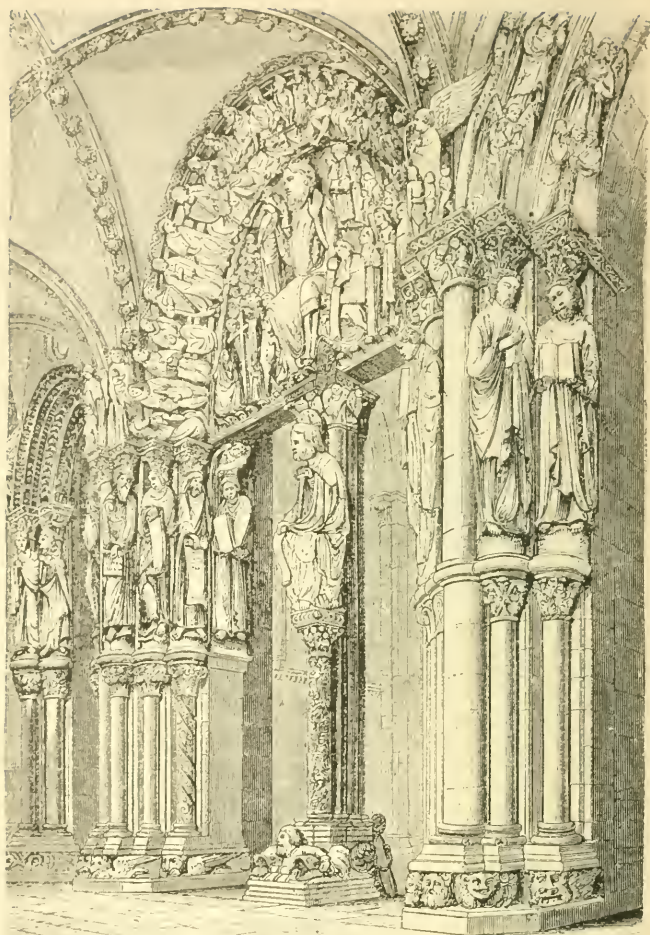


GOTHIC ARCHITECTURE IN SPAIN



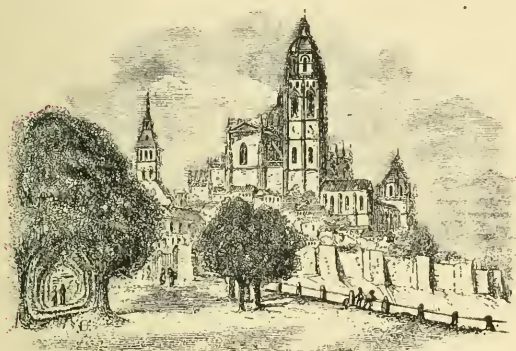
SANTIAGO CATHEDRAL

PORTICO DE LA GLORIA

SOME ACCOUNT
OF
GOTHIC ARCHITECTURE
IN SPAIN

BY
GEORGE EDMUND STREET, F.S.A.

EDITED BY
GEORGIANA GODDARD KING



SEGOVIA FROM THE ALCAZAR

VOL. I

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TO
THE RIGHT HONOURABLE
WILLIAM EWART GLADSTONE
Esq. Esq. Esq.

THIS WORK IS INSCRIBED
AS A TESTIMONY OF THE AUTHOR'S RESPECT
AND ADMIRATION

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INTRODUCTORY NOTE

THREE sorts of people will read a book like this, of travel and criticism: those who think of going somewhere and want to know what to expect; those who cannot go, and feed their desire by what stirs new desire; and those who have been there already and want to recall the place or to follow up what they fancied there. The greatest motive for reprinting *Some Account of Gothic Architecture in Spain*, by George Edmund Street, lies in the need of the first sort, for whom very little exists in any language. *Murray* is first spoiled and then superannuated; *Baedeker* is for the best part carved out of Street, and for the rest inaccurate as well as inadequate; few travellers' books give more than travellers' prejudices. This book is meant to be, what it has been always, the traveller's inseparable fellow.

The editor undertakes two things: first and chiefly to make it valid for the current year, and, secondarily, to widen, a very little, its range. Street and Baedeker the traveller can carry with him, more he cannot carry. Therefore whatever Baedeker omits, Street must supply. I set out to report where things are not as they were, and to add whatever new historical scholarship has brought to light. I have tried to see not only every place that Street saw, but every place that he expressed a wish to see—this sometimes was not possible—and to add in the third place a few notes on places still unseen where Baedeker avails nothing. Whatever I have described without seeing I have described, with infinite regret, from photographs. On books to which Street had access I have drawn little, knowing that he chose carefully and omitted judiciously.

That this is already the best work on the subject is a commonplace of connoisseurs and booksellers, but no one, without carefully reading most of the men who have been writing since, could believe how much they all depend on it. To try to correct or augment by later writers is like trying to lift oneself by one's own bootstraps. Spanish authors quote Street more, if possible, than do English or French, and the graver sort con-

firm or accept his judgment in essentials. For this reason, amongst others, I have so little to add to a book published nearly fifty years ago. Street was very thorough, and Spain is very slow.

The greatest change has been the discovery, less than twenty years ago, of what are called *Primitives*, first the Flemish Primitives, then the French, lastly the Spanish. Here, more than anywhere else, the traveller stands in need of help, and if I offer a hint it is with the sense of being justified by at least two considerations. The first of these is that though in the days of Street Primitives had not been invented, yet whenever he saw pictures he looked at them, and liked, furthermore, the right ones. At Pamplona and Leon it is the author and not the editor who stops to record and discuss paintings, who does, precisely, at length what the editor ventures elsewhere. Moreover he dearly loved the early Italians.¹ The other consideration is that the painting from the thirteenth to the fifteenth and even the sixteenth century is in the strictest terms parallel to the architecture and related with it, is in Street's sense Gothic and in any sense ecclesiastical. Therefore a modest enumeration of retables painted or carved will not break in upon the discourse unduly, while it may serve a good turn to some future traveller bent on that closer study of individual painters and schools which is needed before Spanish painting can be estimated. While in absolute beauty it can never support comparison with the Italian, in freshness, in naïveté, and marked personality, and in the great charm of being yet "unspoiled"—unravaged by the common literary hack—it has inexhaustible interest.

Matter of controversy not being matter for an editor, on the vexed question of French influence in Spanish art, I have put very briefly such conclusions only as seem indisputable and are undisputed by the established critics, connoisseurs, and archæologists in Spain. The same facts are urged, as well, by such modern historians as Don Rafael Altamira. The case of the architecture, according to them, stands thus: First, during the Reconquest the monks of Cluny had immense influence with a number of important Spanish kings. Secondly, in the twelfth century the monks of Cîteaux and S. Bernard himself founded great Spanish abbeys from French houses, notably Fontefroid near Narbonne. Third, certain types of architecture which in France are "regional," *i.e.* recur frequently in a particular part, are found in Spain unique or isolated or without antecedent

¹ See, finally, Vol. II. pp. 255-257.

or tentative approximations. The first and second points establish a presumption that workmen and master builders would be fetched from France; the third affords evidence that such have worked in Spain. It is not the least glory of Street that without the data he saw this in the stones. With him for example, and in confirmation of all this, I want to add another sort of testimony, that of the connoisseur's eye, trained to compare and detect essential likenesses. This may be helped out by photographs, and supported by what is called *qualitative* criticism, and the habit of distinguishing between a master's hand and an apprentice's, between first rate and provincial art, between works which are in the current of a great tradition and those which are individual, accidental, and without consequences. In the case of Santiago de Compostella, since it has lately broken out afresh I summed up the discussion. It is precisely in such instances as this, of conflicting or ambiguous documentary evidence, that the student is thrown back on a practised judgment and enabled to declare that as certainly two pieces of stuff are or are not of the same colour, so certainly two pieces of sculpture are of the same school, or are not. Many threads meet and mingle in the web of Spanish art, but a steady eye and hand can disentangle some of them.

Equally this last criterion, of the trained experience, is needed to supplement the documents on the no less vexed question of Spanish painting. Again the best Spanish authority is in agreement, affirming consistently that through commercial and political relations alike Tuscan influence—*i.e.* Florentine and Sienese—was incessant and strong on the east coast, thence spreading inland and westward to the other kingdoms. French painting came in, from the courts of Provence, Burgundy, and the Royal Domain, inevitably, and the documents prove it. These also prove the Flemish intercourse. The German share was probably less than sometimes is asserted, because the evidence of documents is wanting, and the test of examining and comparing the early pictures does not show it.

The history of Spanish painting before the sixteenth century is yet to write for the most part, but some of the materials exist. There is, first of all, the great book on *Cuatrocentistas Catalanes* by Don Salvador Sanpere y Miquel, and his *Pintura Mig-^{re}val Catala^{na}* now publishing. There are articles in Spanish periodicals and other publications by Don Elias Tormo y Monso and Don Luis Tramoyeres y Blasco.

In the *Revue de l'Art Ancien et Moderne* between 1906 and 1909

M. Emile Bertaux presented in French most of Señor Sanpere's conclusions even when he differed from them, and he has written the chapters on Spanish painting and sculpture in M. André Michel's *Histoire de l'Art*, and for this M. Camille Enlart has written on Spanish architecture. These two are the best authorities in French, I believe.

In Spanish there is one great book to add to Street's list: *Historia de la Arquitectura Cristiana Española en la Edad Media*, by Don Vicente Lampérez y Romea, which was summarised in French, for the *Revue Hispanique*, by Professor Desdévise du Désert. Unfortunately the first volume is already out of print. To every chapter and section in this, as in Michel, are appended such excellent special bibliographies that to set down the books I have consulted, before or after them, would be affectation. Parcerisa has been republished, without the delightful old views, and with later additions, as *España, sus Monumentos y Artes*, Barcelona, 1885 and onward. The best new book I know in English is called *Spain, a Study of her Life and Arts*, by Royall Tyler, 1909. It contains forty-three plans of churches, some of these not in Street.

To supply for the notes, plans drawn to scale and exquisitely, like those in the text, the editor was not competent. To make photographs that could replace the author's sketches the age is not competent, for until a camera shall be able to work around a corner, photography can be only a mechanical aid in the study and reproduction of architecture, and for the impression and the pleasure the burden will be still on the pencil. Those who have known this book before will applaud the editor's and publisher's conservatism, and will be glad equally that while the author's notes are retained at the foot of the page, the editor's, indicated by an arabic numeral, are relegated to the end of the chapter.

The business of an editor is to help out his author with as little ostentation as may be. If he disagrees in fundamentals, he is in the wrong place; if he knows more in details, though he has the better luck, yet his author is still probably the better man, and his corrections and additions should come in discreetly. It seems right in choosing new material and piecing out the old to match the stuff as far as possible—in other words, to insert simply a report made to the chief in his own terms. If the report is sometimes bald, sometimes garrulous, too often breathless, it is made at least rapidly and *sotto voce* and kept out of the way of the main business. This book is not mine. If I ever

write a book about Spain it will be a different one, and not so good a one—but whether I like or no, it will be based on this.

To those who have not known it before, I commend this. Street is the best of companions—the least professional, or hackneyed, or egotistical. I testify after three journeys to Spain and many months spent there that he is never dull, never irritating, never fretful; and stimulating beyond the wont. If one flags after fourteen hours in a train, one remembers that he sat sixty-six in a diligence; if one turns from a lump of chocolate and a cold omelette as the long day's provision, one remembers that he lived for weeks on bread and grapes. He taught to Europe the *Gloria* of Santiago; he teaches to every fellow-traveler his patience with foreign ways and his entire devotion to exalted beauty. If one has more tolerance for the plateresque style than he, it may be because one has less passion for the Gothic, and that is not virtue on any count. Spain is not easy to understand; Spaniards say themselves that the very formulas they offer do not plumb the depth—but the best chance of understanding lies in knowledge and in such a spirit as informs the pages that follow here.

BRYN MAWR,

Vigil of S. Andrew, 1912.

PREFACE

THE book which I here commit to the reader requires, I fear, some apology on my part. I feel that I have undertaken almost more than an artist like myself, always at work, has any right to suppose he can properly accomplish in the little spare time he can command. Nevertheless, I have always felt that part of the duty which every artist owes to his mother art is to study her developments wherever they are to be seen, and whenever he can find the opportunity. Moreover, I believe that in this age it is only by the largest kind of study and range of observation that any artist can hope to perfect himself in so complex and difficult an art as architecture, and that it is only by studying the development of Gothic architecture in all countries that we can form a true and just estimate of the marvellous force of the artistic impulse which wrought such wonders all over Europe in the twelfth, thirteenth, fourteenth, and fifteenth centuries.

In a day of revival, such as this, I believe it to be necessary that we should form this just estimate of bygone art; because I am sure that, unless our artists learn their art by studying patiently, lovingly, and constantly the works of their great predecessors, they will never themselves be great. I know full well how much hostility there is on the part of some to any study of foreign examples; but as from my boyhood up I have never lost any opportunity of visiting and studying our old English buildings, and as my love for our own national artistic peculiarities rather increases than diminishes the more I study the contemporary buildings of the Continent, I have no hesitation in giving to the world what I have been able to learn about Spanish art.

What I have here written will no doubt be supplemented and corrected by others hereafter; and much additional light will, I hope, be thrown upon the history of Spanish buildings and their architects. It will be found that I have referred to many Spanish authorities for the historical facts on which the dates of the buildings I have visited can alone be decided. Of these

authorities none is more useful to the architect, none is more creditable to its authors, than the *Notices of the Architects and Architecture of Spain*, by D. Eugenio Llaguno y Amirola, edited with additions by D. Juan Agustin Cean-Bermudez, in four volumes, compiled about the beginning of this century, but not published until A.D. 1829.¹

This work, full of documentary evidence as to the Spanish architects and their works, appears to me to be far better in its scheme and mode of execution than any work which we in England have upon the buildings of our own country; and, though it is true that neither of its authors had a very accurate knowledge of the art, they seem to have exercised great diligence in their search after information bearing on their subject, and to have been remarkably successful.

Mr. Ford's *Handbook of Spain* has been of great service to me, not only because it was the only guide to be had, and on account of the charm of his style, but because it had the rare excellence (in a Guide-book) of constantly referring to local guides and authorities, and so enabling me to turn at once to the books most likely to aid me in my work.

The other works to which I have at some pains referred are mainly local guides and histories, collections of documents, and the like. Of these a vast number have been published, and I cannot pretend to have exhausted the stores which they contain.

Unfortunately, so far as I have been able to learn, no one of late years has taken up the subject of the Mediæval antiquities of Spain in the way in which we are accustomed to see them treated by writers on the subject elsewhere in Europe. The *Ensayo Histórico* of D. José Caveda is very slight and unsatisfactory, and not to be depended on. Passavant, who has published some notes on Spanish architecture,² is so ludicrously wrong in most of his statements that it seems probable that he trusted to his internal consciousness instead of to personal inspection for his facts. The work of Don G. P. de Villa Amil³ is very showy and very untrustworthy; and that of Don F. J. Parcerisa,⁴ and the great work which the Spanish Government is publishing,⁵ are both so large and elaborate as to be useless for

¹ I have quoted this book throughout as "Cean Bermudez, *Arq. de Esp.*"

² *Die Christliche Kunst in Spanien*. Leipzig, 1853.

³ *España Artística y Monumental*, por Don G. P. de Villa Amil y Don P. de la Escosura. Paris, 1842.

⁴ *Recuerdos y Bellezas de España*, por F. J. Parcerisa, 1844, etc.

⁵ *Monumentos Arquitectónicos de España*; publicados á expensas del Estado, bajo la direccion de una Comision especial creada por el Ministerio de Fomento. Madrid, 1859-65, and still in course of publication.

the purpose of giving such a general and comprehensive idea of the features of Gothic architecture in Spain as it has been my effort to give in this work.

Seeing, then, how complete is the ignorance which up to the present time we have laboured under as to the true history and nature of Gothic architecture in Spain, I commit this volume to the reader with a fair trust that what has been the occupation of all my leisure moments for the last two or three years—a work not only of much labour at home, but of considerable labour also in long journeys taken year after year for this object alone—will not be found an unwelcome addition to the literature of Christian art. I have attempted to throw what I had to say into the form which has always appeared to me to be the right form for any such architectural treatise. The interest of the subject is threefold—first, Artistic and Archæological; secondly, Historical; and lastly, Personal. I have first of all, therefore, arranged the notes of my several journeys in the form of one continuous tour; and then, in the concluding chapters, I have attempted a general *résumé* of the history of architecture in Spain, and, finally, a short history of the men who as architects and builders have given me the materials for my work.

To this I have added, in an Appendix, two catalogues—one of dated examples of buildings, and the other of their architects, with short notices of their works; and, beside these, a few translations of documents which seem to me to bring before us in a very real way the mode in which these mediæval buildings were undertaken, carried on, and completed.



GOthic ARCHITECTURE IN SPAIN

CHAPTER I

IRUN—SAN SEBASTIAN—BURGOS

So little has it been the fashion hitherto to explore the North of Spain in search of artistic treasures, that it was with somewhat more than usual of the feeling that I was engaged in an adventure that I left Bayonne on my first journey West of the Pyrenees. Yet, in truth, so far as I have seen there is little in the way of adventure to anticipate even there in these matter-of-fact days; and, some slight personal inconvenience excepted, there is nothing to prevent any traveller of ordinary energy doing all that I did with complete success, and an uncommon amount of pleasure. For if there are no serious perils to be encountered, there is great novelty in almost everything that one sees; and whether we wish to study the people and their customs, or to visit the country and explore it in search of striking and picturesque scenery, or to examine, as I did, its treasures of ancient art, we shall find in every one of these respects so much that is unlike what we are used to, so much that is beautiful, and so much that is ancient and venerable by historic association, that we must be dull indeed if we do not enjoy our journey with the fullest measure of enjoyment. Indeed the drawbacks about which so much is usually said and written—the difficulty of finding inns fit to sleep in, or food fit to eat—seem to me to be most enormously exaggerated. It is true that I have purposely avoided travelling over the well-beaten Andalusian corner of Spain; and it is there, I suppose, that most English ideas of Spain and the Spaniards are formed. But in those parts to which my travels have taken me, but in which English travellers are not known so well as they are in Andalusia, I have certainly seldom found any difficulty in obtaining

such creature-comforts as are essential. Somewhat, it is true, depends upon the time of year in which a journey is undertaken; for in the spring, when the climate is most enjoyable, and the country gloriously green and bright with wavy crops of corn, the traveller has to depend entirely upon the cook for his food; and has no other resource even where the cookery is intolerable to his English sense of smell, taste, and sight! But in the autumn, if he chances to travel, as I have twice done, just when the grapes are ripening, he may, if he choose, live almost entirely, and with no little advantage to his health, on grapes and bread, the latter being always pure, light, and good to a degree of which our English bakers have no conception; and the former tasting as none but Spanish grapes do, and often costing nothing, or at any rate never more than a merely nominal sum.

On the whole, from my own experience, I should be inclined to recommend the autumn as the most favourable season for a Spanish journey, the weather being then generally more settled than in the spring. But, on the other hand, there is no doubt that any one who wishes to judge fairly of the scenery of Old and New Castile, of great part of Aragon, and of Leon, ought on no account to visit these provinces save in the spring. Then I know no sight more glorious in its way than the sea of corn which is seen covering with its luxuriance and lovely colour the endless sweeps of the great landscape on all sides; whereas in the autumn the same landscape looks parched and barren, burnt up as it is by the furious sun until it assumes everywhere a dusty hue, painful to the eye, and most monotonous and depressing to the mind; whilst the roads suffer sometimes from an accumulation of dust such as can scarcely be imagined by those who have never travelled along them. Even at this season, however, there are some recompenses, and one of them is the power of realising somewhat of the beauty of an Eastern atmosphere, and the singular contrasts of colours which Eastern landscapes and skies generally present; for nowhere else have I ever seen sunsets more beautiful or more extraordinary than in the dreariest part of dreary Castile (1).

So far as the inns and food are to be considered, I do not think there is much need ordinarily for violent grumbling. All ideas of English manners and customs must be carefully left behind; and if the travelling-clothes are donned with a full intention to do in Spain as Spain does, there is small fear of their owner suffering very much. But in Spain more than in

most parts of Europe the foreign traveller is a rare bird, and if he attempt to import his own customs, he will unquestionably suffer for his pains, and give a good deal of unnecessary—because fruitless—trouble into the bargain.

Spanish inns are of various degrees, from the *Posada*, which is usually a muleteer's public-house, and the *Parador*, which is higher in rank, and where the diligence is generally to be found, up to the *Fonda*, which answers in idea to our hotel. In small country towns and villages a *Posada* is the only kind of inn to be found; and sometimes indeed large towns and cities have nothing better for the traveller's accommodation; but in the larger towns, and where there is much traffic, the *Parador* or *Fonda* will often be found to be as good as second-rate inns elsewhere usually are.

In a *Posada* it is generally easy to secure a bedroom which boasts at any rate of clean, wholesome linen, though of but little furniture; and in the remoter parts of the country—as in Leon and Galicia—there is no difficulty in securing in the poorest *Posada* plenty of bird or fish of quality good enough for a gourmand. The great objection to these small inns is, that nothing but the linen for the beds and the face of the waiting-maid ever seems to be washed. The water is carried to and fro in jars of the most curious and pleasant form and texture, and a few drops are now and then thrown on the floor of the *comedor* or eating-room by way of laying the ancient dust; but washing in any higher sense than this is unknown. It must be said also, that the entrance is common to the mules and the guests; and that after passing through an archway where the atmosphere is only too lively with fleas, and where the stench is something too dreadful to be borne with ease, you turn into the staircase door, and up the stairs, only to find when you have mounted that you have to live, sleep, and eat above the mules; and (unless you are very lucky), when you open your window, to smell as badly as ever all the sweets of their uncleaned and, I suppose, uncleanable stables!

The kitchen is almost always on the first floor; and here one may stand by the wood fire and see the dinner cooked in a mysterious fashion in a number of little earthen jars planted here and there among the embers; whilst one admires the small but precious array of quaint crockery on the shelves, and tries to induce the cooking-maid to add somewhat less of the usual flavouring to one at any rate of her stews! I confess, in spite of all this, to a grateful recollection of many a *Posada*, to a

hearty appreciation of an *olla podrida*—a dish abused most by those who know least about its virtues—and to some suspicion that many of the humblest have treasures in their unsophisticated cooks for which one longs in vain in our own English country-town inns, which of all I have seen seem to me to be the worst, in their affectation of superiority, and in their utter inability to support their claim with anything more worthy than bad mutton-chops, doubtful beer, and wine about which there is no kind of doubt whatever! So much for the Posada. In the Parador or the Fonda the entertainment is generally very fair, whilst in many the sleeping-rooms are all that need be desired. But even here the smell of the stables is often so intolerable as to make it very desirable to find other quarters; and about this there is seldom if ever any difficulty; for in almost all towns of moderate size there are plenty of houses where lodgers are taken in for a night; and in these one may generally depend upon cleanliness, the absence of mules, and fairly-good cookery.

In all—whether inns or lodgings—it is well to eat when the Spaniard eats, and not to attempt to do so at any other time, else much precious time and temper will assuredly be lost, and with results entirely incommensurate with the sacrifice. At whatever hour you rise the maid will bring a small cup of chocolate and a vast glass of water, with some sweet biscuits or toast. And you must learn to love this precious cup, if you intend to love Spain: nowhere else will you get chocolate so invariably well made; and if after you have taken it you drink heartily of the water, you have nothing to fear, and may work hard without fainting till you get your morning meal, at about eleven o'clock. This is a dinner, and can be followed by another at sunset, after which you can generally find in a café either coffee, chocolate, or iced lemonade, whilst you watch the relaxation of the domino-playing natives (2).

Finally, there is seldom anything to quarrel with in the bill, which is usually made out for the entertainment at so much a day; and when this has been paid, the people of the house are sure to bid you God speed—*a dios*—with pleasant faces and kind hearts.

The journeys which I have undertaken in Spain have all been made with the one object of inspecting the remains of Gothic building which I either hoped to, or knew I should, find there. My knowledge of Spanish scenery has therefore been very much limited, and it is only incidentally that I am able to speak at all

of it. Yet I have seen enough to be able to recommend a great extent of country as thoroughly worthy of exploration by those who care for nought but picturesque scenery. The greater part of Catalonia, much of Aragon, Navarre, the north of Leon, Galicia, and the Asturias, are all full of lovely scenery, and even in other districts, where the country is not interesting, there seem always to be ranges of mountains in sight, which, with the singular purity of the atmosphere through which they are seen, never fail of leaving pleasant recollections in one's mind. Such, for example, is the view of the Guadarrama Mountains from Madrid—a view which redeems that otherwise forlorn situation for a great city, and gives it the only charm it has. Such again are the mountain backgrounds of Leon, Avila, and Segovia.

In my first Spanish tour I entered the country from Bayonne, travelled thence by Vitoria to Burgos, Palencia, Valladolid, Madrid, Alcalá, Toledo, Valencia, Barcelona, Lérida, and by Gerona to Perpiñan. In the second I went again to Gerona, thence to Barcelona, Tarragona, Manresa, Lérida, Huesca, Zaragoza, Tudela, Pamplona, and so to Bayonne; and in the third and last I went by Bayonne to Pamplona, Tudela, Tarazona, Sigüenza, Guadalajara, Madrid, Toledo, Segovia, Avila, Salamanca, Zamora, Benavente, Leon, Astorga, Lugo, Santiago, la Coruña, and thence back by Valladolid and Burgos to San Sebastian and Bayonne.

Tours such as these have, I think, given me a fair chance of forming a right judgment as to most of the features of Spanish architecture; but it were worse than foolish to suppose that they have been in the slightest degree exhaustive, for there are large tracts of country which I have not visited at all, others in which I have seen one or two only out of many towns which are undoubtedly full of interesting subjects to the architect, and others again in which I have been too much pressed for time. Yet I hardly know that I need apologise for my neglect to see more when I consider that, up to the present time, so far as I know, no architect has ever described the buildings which I have visited, and indeed no accurate or reliable information is to be obtained as to their exact character, or age, or history. The real subject for apology is one over which I have had, in truth, no control. The speed with which I have been compelled to travel, and the rapidity with which I have been obliged to sketch and take dimensions of everything I have seen, have often, no doubt, led to my making errors, for which, wherever they exist, I am sincerely sorry. In truth, the work I undertook was

hardly the mere relaxation from my ordinary artistic labour for which it was first of all intended, and has been increased not a little by the labour which I have undertaken in the attempt to fix by documentary evidence, where possible, the ages of the various parts of the buildings I have described.

It will be observed that I have not visited the extreme south of Spain; and this was from the first a settled purpose with me. We have already been treated almost to surfeit with accounts of the Moorish remains at Granada, Seville, Cordoba, and other places in the south; but beside this my anxiety was to see how the Christians and not how the Moors built in Spain in the middle ages, and I purposely, therefore, avoided those parts of the country which during the best period of mediæval art were not free from Moorish influence. The pages of this book are the best evidence I can give of the wisdom of such a decision, and I need only say here that I was more than satisfied with the purity and beauty of the Christian architecture of Spain, and that I have no hesitation in the advice which I give to others to follow in my track and to make good the deficiencies in my investigations, of which I am so thoroughly conscious.

By this time travelling on the great high road through Spain *viâ* Madrid is much easier than it was when I first made the journey. The railway to Madrid is now either completed or all but completed, and it is possible to travel from Calais to Alicante on an almost unbroken line. It is a matter to be grateful for in most respects, yet I rejoice that I made my first journey when it was still necessary to make use of the road, and to see something on the way both of the country and of the people (3).

It was after a hurried journey by night to Paris, and thence the next night on to Bordeaux, that I arrived, after a few hours spent in that interesting old city, at the end of the second day in Bayonne. Here my first work was to furnish myself with money and places in the Spanish diligence; and in both these matters I received my first lesson in one peculiarity of Spaniards—that of using foreign words in another and different sense from that to which we are accustomed. Napoleons are said to be the best coin for use in Spain, and I furnished myself with them only to discover, when it was too late, that in Spain a Napoleon means a silver five-franc piece, and that my gold Napoleons were all but useless out of Madrid. And again, when I asked for places in the coupé of the diligence, I found that I was really trying to secure seats in the banquette—the coupé being called the *berlina*, and the banquette the coupé.

At Bayonne there is not very much to be seen beyond the cathedral, the river crossed by the Duke for his attack on Soult, and a charming view from the top of the cathedral tower of the lower ranges of the Pyrenees. The Trois Couronnes is the most conspicuous peak, and its outline is fine; but here, as generally in the distant views of the chain which I obtained, there is a lack of those snow peaks which lend so much beauty to all Alpine views. The exterior of the cathedral (4) has been almost entirely renewed of late, and a small army of masons was busy in the cloister on the south side of the choir. It is to be hoped that the stoppage of the funds so lavishly spent upon the French cathedrals may happen before the Bayonne architects and masons have come round to the west end. At present there is a savage picturesqueness about this which is beyond measure delightful, whilst the original arrangement of the doorways and porches on the west and south, with enormous penthouse roofs over them, is just so far open to conjecture and doubt as to be best left without very much alteration. The general character of the interior of the cathedral is only moderately good, the traceries of the lofty traceried triforium and the great six-light windows of the clerestory in the nave being unusually complicated for French work. The choir is of late thirteenth-century work, very short, with five chapels in the chevet.

In the afternoon we followed the stream and drove to Biarritz. A succession of vehicles of every kind, crowded with passengers, gave strong evidence of the attractions either of the place or else of the emperor and empress, who had been there for a week or two; and the mob of extravagantly dressed ladies, French and English, who thronged the bathing-places and the sandy plain in front of the Villa Eugénie, accounted for the enormous black boxes under which all the vehicles seemed to groan. The view from the cliffs on the western side of Biarritz is strikingly beautiful, embracing as it does the long range of the Pyrenees descending to the sea in a grand mass above Fuenterrabia, and prolonged as far as the eye could reach along the coast of Biscay. The next morning we left Bayonne at four o'clock for Burgos. We had seats in the coupé, the occupants of the berlina on this journey being a son of Queen Christina, with his bride. In Spain every one seems to travel by the diligence; you seldom meet a private carriage; there are no posting arrangements; and owing to the way in which the diligences on the great roads are crowded, it is very difficult

indeed to stop on the road without running great risk of indefinite delays in getting places again (5).

The drive was very charming. The sun rose before we reached St. Jean de Luz,¹ and we enjoyed to the full the lovely scenery. Crossing the Bidassoa at Irun, the famous Ile de Faisans was seen—a mere stony bank in the middle of the stream, recently walled round and adorned with a sort of monument—and then ensued a delay of an hour whilst our luggage was examined and *plombé* in order that it might pass out of Guipuzcoa into Castile without a second examination.

There is a rather characteristic church (6) of late date here. It stands on ground sloping steeply down towards the river, and has a bald look outside, owing to the almost complete absence of window openings, what there are being small, and very high above the floor. The plan is peculiar: it has a nave and chancel, and aisles of two bays to the eastern half of the nave, so that the western part of the nave corresponds in outline very nearly with the chancel. There is a tower at the west end of the south aisle. The groining is many-ribbed, and illustrates the love of the later Spanish architects for ogee surface-ribs, which look better on a plan of vaulting than they do in execution. The east end is square, but the vaulting is apsidal, the angles of the square end being cut across by domical pendentives below the vaulting. The most remarkable feature is the great width of the nave, which is about fifty-four feet from centre to centre of the columns, the total length not being more, I think, than a hundred and fifty feet. The church floor was strewn with rushes, and in the evening when I visited it the people stole in and out like ghosts upon this quiet carpeting. This church was rebuilt in A.D. 1508, and is of course not a very good example of Spanish Gothic.

Fuenterrabia is just seen from Irun in the distance, very prettily situated, with the long line of the blue bay of Biscay to its right. From Irun the road to San Sebastian passes the land-locked harbour of Pasage: this is most picturesque, the old houses clustering round the base of the great hills which shut it in from the sea, between which there is only a narrow winding passage to the latter, guarded by a mediæval castle. Leaving

¹ The church at Bidart (7), between Bayonne and the French frontier, is quite worth going into. It has a nave about forty-five feet wide, and three tiers of wooden galleries all round its north, west, and south walls. They are quaint and picturesque in construction, and are supported by timbers jutting out upwards from the walls, not being supported at all from the floor.

this charming picture behind, we were soon in front of San Sebastian. Here again the castle-crowned cliff seems entirely to shut the town out from the sea, whilst only a narrow neck of land between the *embouchure* of the river on the one side, and a land-locked bay on the other, connects it with the mainland. We had been seven or eight hours *en route*, and were glad to hear of a halt for breakfast. Whilst it was being prepared I ran off to the church of San Vicente on the opposite side of the town to the Fonda. I found it to be a building of the sixteenth century—built in 1507—with a large western porch (8), open-arched on each face, a nave and aisles, and eastern apsidal choir. The end of this is filled with an enormous Retablo of Pagan character, reaching to the roof. The church is groined throughout, and all the light is admitted by very small windows in the clerestory. The aisles have altars in each bay, with Retablos facing north and south. There is little or no work of much architectural interest here; but it was almost my first Spanish church, and I had my first very vivid impression of the darkened interiors, lighted up here and there by some brilliant speck of sunshine, which are so characteristic of the country, and as lovely in their effects as they are aggravating to one who wants to be able to make sketches and notes within them.

Leaving San Sebastian at mid-day, we skirted the bay, busy with folk enjoying themselves in the water after the fashion of Biarritz. The country was wild, beautiful, and mountainous all the way to Mondragon. At Vergara there was a fair going on, and the narrow streets were crowded with picturesquely dressed peasants; everywhere in these parts fine, lusty, handsome, and clean, and to my mind the best looking peasantry I have ever seen. In the evening the villages were all alive, the young men and women dancing a wild, indescribable dance, rather gracefully, and with a good deal of waving about of their arms. The music generally consisted of a tambourine, but once of two drums and a flute; and the ball-room was the centre of the road, or the little *plaza* in the middle of the village. At midnight there was another halt at Vitoria, where an hour was whiled away over chocolate and *azucarillos*—delicate compositions of sugar which melt away rapidly in water, and make a superior kind of *eau sucrée*; and again at sunrise we stopped at Miranda del Ebro for the examination of luggage before entering Castile.

Close to the bridge, on the opposite side of the Ebro to Miranda, is a church (9) of which I could just see by the dim light of the

morning that it was of some value as an example of Romanesque and Early Pointed work. The apse, of five sides, has buttresses with two half-columns in front of each, and an arch thrown across from buttress to buttress carries the cornice and gives a great appearance of massiveness to the window arches with which it is concentric. The south doorway is of very fine Early Pointed style, with three shafts on each jamb, and five orders in the arch.

On the road from Miranda to Pancorbo there is a striking defile between massive limestone cliffs and rocks, through which the Madrid Railway is being constructed with no little difficulty, and where the road is carried up, until, at its summit, we found ourselves at the commencement of the arid, treeless, dusty, and eminently miserable plain of Castile, whilst we groaned not a little at the slow pace at which the ten or twelve horses and mules that drew us got over the ground. These Spanish diligences are certainly most amusing for a time, and thenceforward most wearying. They generally have a team of ten or twelve animals, mostly mules. The driver has a short whip and reins for the wheelers only; a boy, the *adalantero*, rides the leaders as postilion, and with a power of endurance which deserves record, the same boy having ridden with us all the way from San Sebastian to Burgos—twenty-five hours, with a halt of one hour only at Vitoria. The conductor, or *mayoral*, sits with the driver, and the two spend half their time in getting down from the box, rushing to the head of one of the mules, belabouring him heartily for two or three minutes till the whole train is in a mad gallop, and then climbing to the box to indulge in a succession of wild shrieks until the poor beasts have fallen again into their usual walk, when the performance is repeated. I believe that for a day and a half our *mayoral* never slept a wink, and spent something like a fourth of his time running with the mules: though I am bound to say that subsequent experience has convinced me that he was exceptionally lively and wakeful, for elsewhere, in travelling by night, I have generally found that the mules become their own masters after dark, walking or standing still as seemeth them best, and seldom getting over much more than half the ground they travel in the same number of hours of daylight.

A few miles before our arrival at Burgos, we caught the first sight of the three spires of the cathedral; and presently the whole mass stood out grandly, surmounted by the Castle hill on the right. One or two villages with large churches of little

interest were passed, the great Carthusian Convent of Miraflores was seen on the left, and then, passing a short suburb, we stopped at the Fonda de la Rafaela (10); and after an hour spent in recovery from dust, dirt, and horrid hunger, betook ourselves to the famous Cathedral, with no little anxiety as to the result of this first day of ecclesiologising in Spain.

The railroad, which is now open to Burgos, follows very much the same line as the old road. As far as Miranda the scenery is generally very beautiful, and here there is a junction with the wonderfully-engineered railway to Bilbao, which is continued again on the other side until it joins the Pamplona and Tudela Railway near the latter city. It is therefore a very good plan to enter Spain by the steamboat from Bayonne to Bilbao, to come thence by railway, join the main line at Miranda, and so on to Burgos, or else by the valley of the Ebro to Tudela and Zaragoza. The passage of the Pancorbo defile by the railway is even finer than by the road; and for the remainder of the distance to Burgos the traveller's feeling must be in the main one of joy at finding himself skimming along with fair rapidity over the tame country, in place of loitering over it in a tiresome diligence.

NOTES

(1) Spanish landscape, however, in autumn and winter is more romantic. The broken mountain ranges, "like an old lion's cheek teeth," turn to mauve, violet, and periwinkle-blue.

(2) In Spanish inns travellers will seldom be troubled now by the mules, and will find even in the small towns a hotel of the non-descript continental sort where they may have coffee for breakfast. The hours for meals have changed, and not for the better: dinner or luncheon is not ready till one o'clock or later, and the night meal is begun nearer nine than eight.

(3) Spanish railways now go to more than half the places where any one could want to go, even in the Pyrenees; the diligences and motor 'buses do the rest, so that the traveller with faith simply travels to the nearest railway station, sure of finding conveyance the rest of the way. A great want is for such a trustworthy account of the diligence system as the French time-tables supply; it is impossible in Spain to find out anything excepting in the very town and at the diligence office.

(4) Bayonne Cathedral. The cloister is "restored" in large part and throughout the rest many new blocks, yet uncut, replace the old capitals. The great west porch is still untouched, but the north porch is completely new. It has a mid-post between the two

doors, and a single great pointed arch above; the figures, however, are missing from tympanum, archivolt, and jambs. From the scars on the stone I should say that there had been a coronation of the Blessed Virgin with the twelve apostles below. The south portal opens into a sacristy where should be the north walk of the cloister; it has two complete doors with one apostle on the inner jamb of each and two on the outer, S. James conspicuous among them. On the tympanum of the eastern is Christ in Judgment between angels; in the archivolt, trumpeting angels, the Judgment, and Hell; on the western, Madonna enthroned between four angels, and angels in the archivolt making music. With this arrangement may be compared the north portal of Leon, p. 147.

(5) Limited trains are the rule for long, rapid travel nowadays, and though there is less danger of not getting a seat than the guide books would indicate, it is worth while going very early to the station to make sure of a seat beside a window. So many market trains, moreover, run once or twice a week that with a time-table and careful planning one can manage almost anything.

(6) At Irun the church had just been restored completely when I was there, and the three retables by Juan Vascardo were hidden under cloths or behind scaffolding. They looked late and rather like that at San Sebastian.

(7) The church at Bidart is visible from the train, but about a mile away; the type prevails on both sides the frontier from Bayonne nearly to Miranda.

(8) The porch is walled up now. The seventeenth-century retable by Ambrosio de Vengoechea and Juan Triarte, if rather too grand, is at any rate seriously composed. It contains, so far as I could make out in the dark church, six high reliefs—the Annunciation and Nativity, Crucifixion and Deposition, Christ before Pilate and at the Pillar; at the top the Crucified between SS. Mary and John, and, coming down the centre successively, other statues of the Assumption, S. Sebastian, S. Vincent, and the Risen Christ. Six or eight reliefs make up the predella and fourteen statues of saints with two of angels fill the four main vertical lines.

(9) S. Nicholas of Miranda has a late Gothic nave, a Romanesque apse, and a pointed Romanesque door in a good fifteenth-century porch with penthouse roof. On the easternmost capitals of this are a lion and a castle, which may refer to Alphonso VIII., and in an inscription on the archivolt I read the date, ERA MCCCCLIII. (A.D. 1416), which would stand for the porch building. D. Amador de los Rios reads it as follows, supposing an earlier porch: "Esta labor fui fecha en el anno del era de mil et ccc. et LIII annos et eran maiordomos Don Juan Martinez el maior et Joan Martinez fijo de Domingo Periz de Quintaniella."

(10) Now Hotel de Paris, and excellent, though, like all Spanish hotels of pretension, very dear.

CHAPTER II

BURGOS

THERE are some views of Burgos Cathedral which are constantly met with, and upon which I confess all my ideas of its style and merits had been founded, to their no little detriment. The western steeples, the central lantern, and the lantern-like roof and pinnacles of the chapel of the Constable at the east end, are all very late in date—the first of the latest fifteenth century, and the others of early Renaissance work; and their mass is so important, their character so picturesque, and their detail so exuberantly ornate, that they have often been drawn and described to the entire exclusion of all notice of the noble early church, out of which they rise. The general scheme of the ground-plan of the cathedral is drawn with considerable accuracy in the illustration which I give of it.¹ The fabric consists of a thirteenth-century church, added to somewhat in the fourteenth century, altered again in the fifteenth, and even more in the sixteenth century. The substratum, so to speak, is throughout of the thirteenth century, but the two western steeples, with their crocketed and perforated spires, the gorgeous and fantastic lantern over the crossing, and the lofty and sumptuous monumental chapel at the east end, are all later additions, and so important in their effect as at first sight to give an entirely wrong impression both of the age and character of the whole church. The various dates are, as well as the scale will admit, explained by the shading of the plan. The

¹ Plate I. (pp. 40, 41). This (as are all the other plans) is made from my own rapid sketches and measurements. It is necessarily, therefore, only generally correct. But I believe that it, and all the others, will be found to be sufficiently accurate for all the purposes for which they are required. Without ground-plans it is impossible to understand any descriptions of buildings; and they are the more necessary in this case, seeing that, with the exception of very small plans of Burgos and Leon Cathedrals, there is probably no illustration of the plan of any one of the churches visited by me ever yet published in England. I have drawn all the plans to the same scale, viz. fifty feet to an inch. This is double the scale to which the plans in Mr. Fergusson's *History of Architecture* are drawn; and though it would facilitate a comparison of the Spanish with other ground-plans illustrated by him to have them on the same scale, I found it impossible to show all that I wanted in so very small a compass.

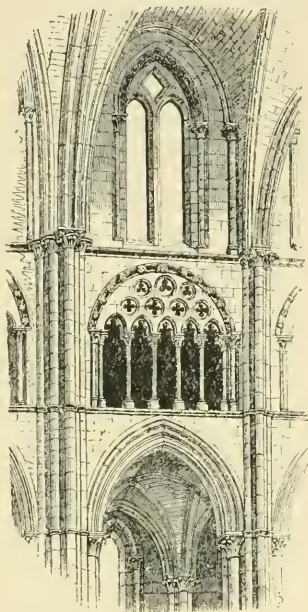
early church seems to have consisted of a nave and aisles of six bays, deep transepts, and a choir and aisles, with apses and chapels round it. The transepts probably had chapels on the east, of which one still remains in the north transept; but this is the only original chapel, none of those round the chevet having been spared. Externally, the two transept fronts are the only conspicuous portions of the old church, but, on mounting to the roof, the flying buttresses, clerestory windows, and some other parts, are found still little damaged or altered. Never was a church more altered for the worse after its first erection than was this. It is now a vast congeries of chapels and excrescences of every shape and every style, which have grown round it at various dates, and, to a great extent, concealed the whole of the original plan and structure; and of these, the only valuable Mediaeval portions are the cloisters and sacristies, which are, indeed, but little later in date than the church, and two of the chapels on the north side of the chevet, one of which is original, and the other at any rate not much altered. The rest of the additions are all either of the latest Gothic, or of Renaissance.

The principal entrances to this church of *Santa Maria la Mayor* are at the west end and in the north and south transepts—the two last original, the former a modern alteration of the old fabric, made only a few years ago, and of the meanest kind. The Archbishop's palace occupies the space on the south side of the nave; and the ground on which the whole group of buildings stands slopes so rapidly from the south up to the north, that on the south side a steep and picturesque flight of steps leads up to the door, whilst on the north, on the contrary, the door is some fifteen feet above the floor, and has to be reached by an elaborate flight of winding steps from the transept. Owing to the rapid rise of the ground, and to the way in which the church is surrounded by houses, or by its own dependent buildings, it is very difficult to obtain any good near views of it, with the exception of that of the west end from the Plaza in front of it; but the views from the Prado, from the opposite side of the river, and from the distant hills and country, are all very fine; and it must be allowed that in them the picturesque richness of the later additions to the fabric produces a very great effect.

Having thus given some general idea of the plan of the church, I will now describe its parts more in detail.

On entering the nave at the west end, the effect of the arcades, triforia, and clerestory is very fine, though much damaged by

the arrangement of the choir, which, as in most Spanish churches, is brought down into the nave, enclosed with close walls or screens, and entered only from the transept at its eastern end. An altar is placed against the western entrance of the choir, and the nave being only six bays in length, and equally divided, the view is—it may easily be imagined—very confined and cramped. Otherwise, the architectural features of the nave are thoroughly good. The original scheme evidently included two western steeples, the piers which support them—large clusters of engaged shafts—being larger than any of the others, yet of the same date. The nave columns are circular, with eight engaged shafts around them. The bases are circular, finished on squares, with knops of foliage filling in the spandrels. The abaci are all square in plan, and both bases and caps are set at right angles to the direction of the arches they support. One of the smaller columns carries the pier arch, the other three carry the transverse and diagonal groining ribs, whilst the wall ribs are carried on shafts on each side of the clerestory window. The pier arches are of ordinary early-pointed character, and well moulded. There is not much variety in the general design of the nave and transepts, though some changes of detail occur. The triforium in both is very peculiar, as will be seen by the illustration which I give of one bay of the nave. The openings vary considerably in number, and the piercings of the tympanum and in the enclosing arch are also singularly arranged. I know nothing like this singular triforium elsewhere (1). It is certainly more curious than really beautiful, but at the same time it is valuable, as seeming to prove this part of the work to be from the hand of a native artist. The enclosing label is in all cases a segment of a circle, and filled with sculptured heads at short intervals



COMPARTMENT OF NAVE

apart. At first sight this triforium hardly seems to be of early date, having suffered by the addition of pinnacles covered with crockets in front of, and open traceried parapet walls between, the detached shafts on which the early traceries were carried; the result is, that one of the most striking features in the church is completely spoiled, and a general effect of very poor and tawdry design is felt more or less throughout the whole building.¹

The original clerestory still, in great part, remains; it is simple, but good and vigorous in style, and with but one special peculiarity in its detail. The windows are for the most part of two lights, with a quatrefoiled circle in the head; and the peculiarity referred to here is the omission to carry the chamfer round the extrados of the arched heads to the lights or the circle; the effect produced is peculiar, the tracery not looking as if it were properly constructed, but as if the wheel had been loosely placed within the arch without having any proper connection with it. I have noticed the same arrangement in a church at Valladolid, and it must, I think, be regarded either as a freak of the workmen, or more probably as the exhibition of some degree of ignorance of the ordinary mode of executing the mouldings in window traceries.

But here, with this one exception, as in almost all the details throughout the original work of this cathedral, there is little, if anything, to show that we are not in France, and looking at some of its best and purest thirteenth-century Gothic. There is no trace of Moorish or other foreign influence, the whole work being pure, simple, and good. In the aisles two only of the original windows still remain, and these show that they were lighted originally by a series of well-shaped lancets, with engaged jamb-shafts inside. The vaults are all slightly domical in section; the diagonal ribs generally semi-circular, as also are the wall-ribs. The masonry of the cells is arranged in lines parallel to the ridge, but considerably distorted near the springing.

The transepts, which, as has been said, are similar in their design to the nave, are of considerable size, and the view across them is in fact the best internal view in the church. One early chapel alone remains—on the east side of the north transept—and its groined roof is remarkable. It is a square in plan, with its vault divided into eight groining cells, forming two bays

¹ I have not thought it necessary to draw these ruinous additions to the early design. That they are additions is easily proved by the way in which they are tied with bands of iron to the early shafts, as well as by the complete difference in style. The original work is fortunately intact behind the added pinnacles, and there is nothing conjectural in its restoration.

on each side, and with two lancet windows at the east end, each under a division of the vault. No one who has studied the groining of the churches in Poitou and Anjou—so decided in their local peculiarities—can doubt, on comparison of them with this chapel, that it was the work of men who had studied in the same school, and it is remarkable that we find it reproduced in the lantern of the great church of the Convent of Las Huelgas, near Burgos, of which I shall presently have to speak. In both cases the vaulting is very domical, and the joints of the stone filling-in of the cells are *vertical*. This chapel suggests, too, the question whether the first idea was not here, as well as at Las Huelgas, to have a series of chapels on the east side of the transepts, though I should decide this in the negative, inasmuch as there is no mark of a chapel in the next bay to the north, and there was probably from the first a complete chevet to the choir.

It will be as well, perhaps, to leave the description in detail of the early features of the exterior for the present, and to complete the notice of the interior first of all.

And here it is necessary to say a few words as to the cathedral arrangements commonly seen in Spain, which exist in full force at Burgos, and must be constantly referred to in all my notices of Spanish churches.

I have already said that the choir proper (*Coro*) is transferred to the nave, of which it occupies commonly the eastern half; the portion of the nave outside, or to the west of the *Coro*, being called the *Trascoro*, and that to the east of it the *Entre los dos Coros*; and in most great churches the *Crucero*, or crossing, and the transept really do the work of the nave, in the way of accommodating the people. The floor of the nave proper is, indeed, too often a useless appendage to the building, desolate, dreary, unused, and cold; whereas in the transepts, the services at the altar and in the choir are both seen and heard, and this accordingly is the people's place. A passage is sometimes, or perhaps I ought to say is usually, made with low iron or brass screens or rails leading from the eastern gate of the *Coro* to the screen in front of the altar. This is especially necessary here, as the choir proper is deep, and the people are thus kept from pressing on the clergy as they pass to and fro in the long passage from the altar to the *Coro*. Gates in these screens admit of the passage of the people from one transept to the other whenever the services in the *Coro* are not going on. The *Coro* is usually fitted with two rows of stalls on its north, south, and

west sides, the front row having no desks before them. The only entrance is usually through the screen on the eastern side, and there are generally two organs placed on either side of the western bay of the Coro, above the stalls. In the centre of the Coro there is always one, and sometimes two or three lecterns, for the great illuminated office-books, which most of the Spanish churches seem still to preserve and use. High metal screens are placed across the nave to the east of the Coro, and across the entrance to the choir, or *capilla mayor*, as its eastern part is called. These screens are called *rejas*. Above the crossing of the choir and transepts there is usually an open raised lantern, called by the Spaniards the *cimborio*; and behind the altar, at the end of the Capilla mayor, is usually a great sculptured and painted *retablo* or reredos. All these arrangements are generally described as if they were invariably found in all Spanish churches, as they certainly are at Burgos and many others now; and an acute and well-informed writer in the *Ecclesiologist* suggests that their origin may perhaps be looked for in the early churches, of the Asturias and Galicia, since he had looked in vain, in both Spanish and Mozarabic liturgies, for any peculiar dogma or ritual practice which would have involved arrangements so different from those common in other countries. The grounds for my opinion will appear as I describe other churches in other places; but I may here at once say that what occurred to me at Burgos was to some extent confirmed elsewhere, namely, that most of these arrangements have no very old authority or origin, but are comparatively modern innovations, and that they are never seen in their completeness save where, as here, they are alterations or additions of the sixteenth or subsequent centuries, and they are usually Renaissance in their architectural character. This is particularly the case in regard to the arrangement of the Coro, as well as to its position in the church. At present the bishop is generally placed in a central stall at its western end; yet of this I have seen only one or two really genuine old examples; for, wherever the arrangement occurs in a choir where the old stalls remain, it will be found that the bishop's stall is an interpolation and addition of the sixteenth, seventeenth, or eighteenth century, and that where the old western screen remains, the throne blocks up the old door from the nave into the Coro. The word *Cimborio* is only the Spanish term for our lantern. The early Spanish churches were like our own in the adoption of this fine feature, and, with such modifications as might be expected, the central lantern is still an invariable

feature in most of them. The term *Cimborio*, however, seems to have no special significance, and, as I prefer the use of an English terminology wherever it is appropriate, I shall generally use the word *lantern*, rather than *Cimborio*. There are some of these terms, however, which it will frequently be convenient to use; such, for instance, are the words *Reja*, *Coro*, *Capilla mayor*, and *Trascoro*, all of which describe Spanish features or arrangements unknown in our own churches.

At Burgos the *Coro* occupies the three eastern bays of the nave, and the only entrance to it is through a doorway in its eastern screen. The stalls, screens, and fittings are all of early Renaissance work, and were the gift of Bishop Pascual de Fuensanta, between A.D. 1497 and A.D. 1512. There are about eighty stalls, in two rows, returned at the ends, and very richly carved, over the lower stalls with subjects from the New, and over the upper stalls with subjects from the Old Testament. In the centre of the choir, concealed by the great desk for the books (which, by the way, are old, though not very fine¹), lies a magnificent effigy of Bishop Maurice, the founder of the church. It is of wood, covered with metal plates, and very sumptuously adorned with jewels, enamels, and gilding. He was bishop from A.D. 1213 to A.D. 1238, and his effigy appeared to me to be very little later than the date of his death.

A special architectural interest attaches to the life of this prelate, for the tradition in Burgos has always been that he was an Englishman, who came over in the train of the English Princess Alienor, Queen of Alfonso VIII., and, having been Archdeacon of Toledo, became in A.D. 1213 Bishop of Burgos. Florez,² however, doubts the tradition, and observes that his parents' names, Rodrigo and Oro Sabia, were those of Spaniards. Two years before the cathedral was commenced he went on an embassy through France to Germany, to bring Beatrice, daughter of the Duke of Suabia, to marry King Ferdinand; so that, even if he were not of English birth, he was at any rate well travelled, and had seen some of the noble works in progress and

¹ The Chapter entered into a contract with one Jusepe Rodriguez for these books, but Philip II. insisted upon his being set free from this contract in order that he might work for him on the books for the Escorial, where he wrought from A.D. 1577 to A.D. 1585.—Cean Bermudez, *Dicc. Hist. de las Bellas Artes en España*. Some illustrations of initial letters in the Burgos books are given by Mr. Waring in his *Architectural Studies in Burgos*.

² *España Sagrada*, vol. xxvi. p. 301. G. G. Dávila, *Teatro Ecclesiastico de las Yglesias de España*, iii. 65, says that Maurice was a Frenchman; and he mentions the consecration by him of the Premonstratensian Church of Sta. Maria la Real de Aguilar de Campo, on the 2nd Kal. Nov. 1222.

completed in France and Germany at this date. In A.D. 1221 he laid the first stone of his new cathedral:—"Primus lapis ponitur in fundamento novi operis ecclesiæ Burgens: xx. die mensis Julii era millesima quinquagesima nona die Sancte Margarite."¹ Florez gives two other similar statements, one from the Martyrology of Burgos, and the other from the Chronicle of Cardena. The king and the bishop are said to have laid the first stone in the grand column on the epistle side of the choir; and the work went on so rapidly that in November, A.D. 1230, when he drew up directions as to the precedence of the various members of the chapter, their order of serving at the altars, and of walking in processions, the bishop was able to write, "*Tempore nostræ translationis ad novam fabricam.*"²

Bishop Maurice was buried in the church, and his monument was afterwards moved to the front of the Trascoro (or screen at the west end of the choir) by Bishop Ampudia, before his death, in A.D. 1512. It has never been moved from the spot in which it was then placed, and yet, owing to the rearrangement of the stalls, it is now in the very midst of the Coro,³ and affords an invaluable piece of evidence of the fact already stated, that of old the stalls did not occupy their present place in the nave.⁴

There is nothing else worthy of note in the Coro. Its floor is boarded, and a long passage about six feet wide, between rails, leads from its door through the choir to a screen in front of the high altar. The people occupy the choir, hemmed in between these rails and the parclose screens under the side arches. The altar has a late and uninteresting Retablo, in Pagan style, carved with large subjects and covered with gold.⁵ The steps to the altar are of white, black, and red marble, counterchanged; and

¹ *Esp. Sag.* xxvii. 306; *Memorial in the Archives at Burgos*, ii. fol. 57. The era 1259 answers to A.D. 1221. The "era" so frequently occurring in Spanish records precedes the year of our Lord by thirty-eight years, and is, in fact, the era of the Emperor Cæsar Augustus. See *Cronicas de los Reyes de Castilla*, vol. i. p. 31, and *España Sagrada*, vol. ii. pp. 23 *et seq.*, for an explanation of this computation, which is constantly used as late as the middle of the fourteenth century in all Spanish inscriptions and documents.

² *Esp. Sag.* xxvii. 313.

³ *Esp. Sag.* xxvi. 315.

⁴ Ponz states that Bishop Pascual de Fuensanta (1497-1512) moved the stalls from the Capilla mayor (*i.e.* choir) to the middle of the church; and Florez, *Esp. Sag.* xxvi. 315 and 413, makes the same statement.

⁵ Ponz, *Viage de España*, xii. 28, says that the sculptures of this Retablo were executed by Rodrigo de la Aya and his brother Martin between A.D. 1577 and 1593 at a cost of 40,000 ducats; and that Juan de Urbina (a native of Madrid), and Gregorio Martinez of Valladolid, painted and gilded it for 11,000 ducats in three years, finishing in A.D. 1593.

at the entrance to the choir under the lantern are two brass pulpits or ambons, for the Epistoler and Gospeller, an admirable and primitive arrangement almost always preserved in Spanish churches.

The columns of the choir arches have been modernised, and there is consequently but little of the old structure visible on the inside, the Retablo rising to the groining, and concealing the arches of the apse. Between these arches sculptures in stone are introduced, which are said to have been executed by Juan de Borgoña, in 1540. They are bold and spirited compositions in high relief, and give great richness of effect to the aisle towards which they face. The subjects are—(1) the Agony in the Garden; (2) our Lord bearing His Cross; (3) the Crucifixion; (4) the Descent from the Cross and the Resurrection; (5) the Ascension. Numbers 1 and 5 are not original, or at any rate are inferior to and different in style from the others.

When we leave the choir for its aisles, we shall find that everything here, too, has been more or less altered. Chapels of all sizes and shapes have been contrived, either by addition to or alteration of the original ground-plan; and, picturesque as the *tout ensemble* is, with dark shadows crossed here and there by bright rays of light from the side windows, with here a domed Renaissance chapel, there one of the fourteenth century, and here, again, one of the fifteenth, it has lost all that simplicity, unity, and harmony which in a perfect building ought to mark this, the most important part of a church. In truth hardly any part of the aisles or chapels of the chevet of Bishop Maurice now remains; for of the two early chapels on the north side (marked *a* and *b* on the plan), the former is evidently of later date, being possibly the work of Bishop Juan de Villahoz, who founded a chapel here, dedicated to S. Martin, in A.D. 1268–69.¹ The style of this chapel is very good middle-pointed; the abaci of the capitals are square, the tracery is geometrical, the vaulting very domical, and its north-western angle is arched across, and groined with a small tripartite vault, in order to bring the main vault into the required polygonal form. This arrangement occurs at an earlier date, as I shall have presently to show, at Las Huelgas (close to Burgos), but ought to be noticed here, as the same feature is seen reproduced, more or less, in many Spanish works of the fifteenth century, and here we have an intermediate example to illustrate its gradual growth. It is, in fact, the Gothic substitute for a pendentive.

¹ *Esp. Sag.* xxvi. 331.

The other chapel (*b*) I believe to be the one remaining evidence of the original plan of the chevet; and, looking at it in connection with the other portions of the work, and especially with the blank wall between which and the cloister the new sacristy is built, it seems pretty clear that originally there were only three chapels in the chevet, and all of them pentagonal in plan. Between these chapels and the transepts there would then have been two bays of aisle without side chapels, and on the eastern side of each of the transepts a small square chapel, one of which still remains. This plan tallies to some extent with that of the cathedral at Leon (with which the detail of Burgos may well be compared), and is in some respects similar to that of the French cathedrals of Amiens, Clermont, and some other places. In fact, the planning of this chevet is one of the proofs that the work was of French, and not of Spanish origin.

At the east end of the cathedral is a grand chapel, erected about A.D. 1487, by the Constable D. Pedro Fernandez de Velasco and his wife. This remarkable building was designed by an architect whose work we shall see again, and of whom it may be as well at once to say a few words. Juan de Colonia—a German by birth or origin, as his name shows—is said to have been brought to Burgos by Bishop Alfonso de Cartagena (A.D. 1435 to A.D. 1456) when he returned from the Council of Basle. There is evidence that he built the chapel of the great Carthusian monastery of Miraflores, on the hill just outside the town; and there is, I believe, but little doubt that he wrought here too. His work is very peculiar. It is essentially German in its endless intricacy and delicacy of detail, but has features which I do not remember to have seen in Germany, and which may fairly be attributed either to the Spaniards who worked under him, or to an attempt on his own part to accommodate his work to Spanish tastes.

The chapel is octagonal at the east, but square at the west end; and pendentives of exactly the same kind of design as those of the early German and French churches are introduced across the western angles of the chapel, to bring the plan of the central vault to a complete octagon. They are true pendentives, and quite unlike those three-sided vaulting bays across the angles of the apse chapels, to which I just now referred, and which answer precisely the same purpose. They are hardly at all Gothic, having semi-circular arches, and the masonry below them being filled in with stones radiating as in a fan, from the centre of the base of the pendentive. The groining ribs (the mould-

ings of which interpenetrate at the springing) form by their intersection a large star of eight points in the centre, and the cells between the ribs of this star are pierced with very elaborate traceries. This is a feature often reproduced in late Spanish works, and it is one which aids largely in giving the intricate and elaborately lace-like effect aimed at by the Spanish architects at this date, to a greater extent even than by any of their contemporaries in other lands; for though this, which is well-nigh the richest example of the Spanish art of the fifteenth century, was designed by a German, we must remember that he was following, to a great extent, Spanish traditions, and was largely aided in all the better portion of the detail by national artists, among whom the greatest was, perhaps, Gil de Siloe, whose work in the monuments at Miraflores I shall presently have to describe. And it is not a little curious, and perhaps not very gratifying to the *amour propre* of Spanish artists, that in this great church the two periods in which the most artistic vigour was shown, and the grandest architectural works undertaken, were marked, the first by the rule of a well-travelled bishop—commonly said to be an Englishman—under an English princess, and who seems to have employed an Angevine architect; and the second by the rule of another travelled bishop, who, coming home from Germany, brought with him a German architect, into whose hands all the great works in the city seem at once to have been put. I must return, however, to the description of the detail of the Constable's chapel. Each bay of the octagonal part of the chapel below the vaulting is divided in this way: below is a recessed arch, under which is an enormous coat-of-arms set aslant on the wall, with coarse foliage round it. These arches have a very ugly fringe of shields and supporters, and finish with ogee canopies. Above are the windows, which are of flamboyant tracery of three lights; the windows being placed one over the other, the outer mouldings of the upper window going down to the sill of the lower. There are altars (2) in recesses on the east, north, and south sides of the octagon; and the two latter stand upon their old foot-paces, formed by flights of three steps, the ends of which towards the chapel are filled with rich tracery. The monument of the Constable Velasco is in the centre of the chapel; and a velvet pall belonging to it is still preserved, adorned with one of those grand stamped patterns so constantly seen in mediæval German paintings. The stalls for the clergy are arranged strangely in an angle of the chapel, fenced round with a low screen, and

looking like one of those enclosures in some of our own churches sacred to archdeacons and their officials.

A quaint little vestry is contrived outside the south-east angle of the octagon, and in it are preserved some pieces of plate of the same age as the chapel. Among these are—

A chalice of silver gilt, enamelled in white and red, with its bowl richly set with pearls strung on a wire: the knop is richly enamelled, and its edge set with alternate emeralds and sapphires; whilst the sexfoiled foot is in the alternate compartments engraved with coats-of-arms, and set with sapphires. It is a very gorgeous work, and, though all but Renaissance in style, still very finely executed.

A pax; the Blessed Virgin Mary holding our Lord, and seated on a throne covered with pearls and other jewels. The figure of the Blessed Virgin Mary is enamelled with blue, and our Lord is in ivory. The old case for this is preserved, and has a drawer below it which contains papers referring to the gift of it.

Another small pax; a flat plate enamelled, with crocketed pinnacles at the side, but no figure.

A fine thurible for incense, in the form of a ship, with Adam and Eve on the lid.

A very good flagon, richly chased all over, sexfoil in section, and with a particularly good spout and handle.

There are many other chapels, as will be seen by reference to the plan, added to various parts of this cathedral, though none of them are of anything like the same importance as that of the Constable, which gives, indeed, much of its character to the exterior of the whole church, so large, lofty, and elaborate is it. On the south side of the south aisle of the nave is one which in the treatment of its groining cells, which are filled with tracery, seems to show the hand of Juan de Colonia; whilst another chapel on the north side of the nave, partly covered with a late Gothic vault, and partly with a dome, may be either a later work of his, or, more probably, of his son Simon de Colonia; another to the east of this is remarkable for the cusps, which come from the moulded ribs and lie on the surface of the vaulting cells in a way I do not remember to have seen before. In these chapels¹ we see the dying out of the old art in every stage of its progress; and I think that both here and elsewhere in Spain the change was much more gradual than it was in most other parts of Europe,

¹ The chapel of the Visitation was built by Bishop Alonso de Cartagena, 1435-56. The chapel of Sta. Ana was built by Bishop Luis Acuña y Osorio, 1457-95. The chapel of Sta. Catalina in the Cloister is said to have been built in the time of Enrique II.—Caveda, *Ensayo Historico*, 379-80.

many of the early Renaissance masters having availed themselves largely of the picturesque detail of their predecessors' work.

The central lantern was the last great work executed in this cathedral, and its history must be given somewhat at length, as it is of much interest. In the Royal Library at Madrid¹ there is preserved a MS., from which we learn that the "crossing" of the cathedral fell on the 4th of March, 1539; and that Felipe de Borgoña, "one of the three 'maestros' who in the time of our Emperor came to our Spain, from whom we have learned perfect architecture and sculpture, though in both they say he had the advantage over the others," was entrusted with the execution of the new work erected in its place. This Cimborio or lantern was completed, according to this MS., in December, A.D. 1567, Maestro Vallejo being mentioned as having wrought at the work under Felipe de Borgoña; Cean Bermudez,² without giving his authorities, says, that the bishop (celebrated for the many buildings he had erected, among others San Esteban at Salamanca), on the fall of the "crucero," summoned Felipe de Borgoña from Toledo, where he was at work with Berruguete on the stalls, to superintend the cathedral architects Juan de Vallejo and Juan de Castañeda. Maestro Felipe seems to have died in A.D. 1543, so that it is probable that after all most of the work was done after his death by Juan de Vallejo, who was sufficiently distinguished to be consulted with the architects of Toledo, Seville, and Leon about the building of the new cathedral at Salamanca in A.D. 1512, and had also, between the years A.D. 1514-24, built the very Renaissance-looking gateway which opens from the east side of the north transept into the Calle de la Plegria. The whole composition of this lantern is Gothic and picturesque; yet there is scarce a portion of it which does not show a most strange mixture of Pagan and Gothic detail. The piers which support it are huge, ungainly cylinders, covered with carving in low relief, and everywhere there is that combination of heaviness of parts and intricacy of detail, which in all ages marks the inferior artist. I cannot help lamenting much, therefore, the fall of the old work in A.D. 1539. There is no evidence, so far as I know, as to what it was that fell,³ but the nearly coeval church of Las Huelgas has

¹ *Cod. M.*, No. 9.

² *Noticias de los Arquitectos y Arquitectura de España*, vol. i. 206-207.

³ Florez, *Esp. Sag.* xxvi. 393, says: "A MS. which I have says that Bishop Luis Acuña y Osorio (1457-95) reformed the fabric of the transept in the middle of the church with eight turrets, which became a ruin in the middle of the following century."

a fine simple lantern, and it is probable that some such erection existed in the cathedral, and that Bishop Luis de Acuña y Osorio raised it, and, by increasing its weight, caused its fall. The central lantern is so completely a feature of English buildings, or of those built in lands over which our kings also ruled, that any evidence of their early existence here would have been most valuable, seeing how close the connection was at the time of its erection between the families of the kings of Castile and of England.

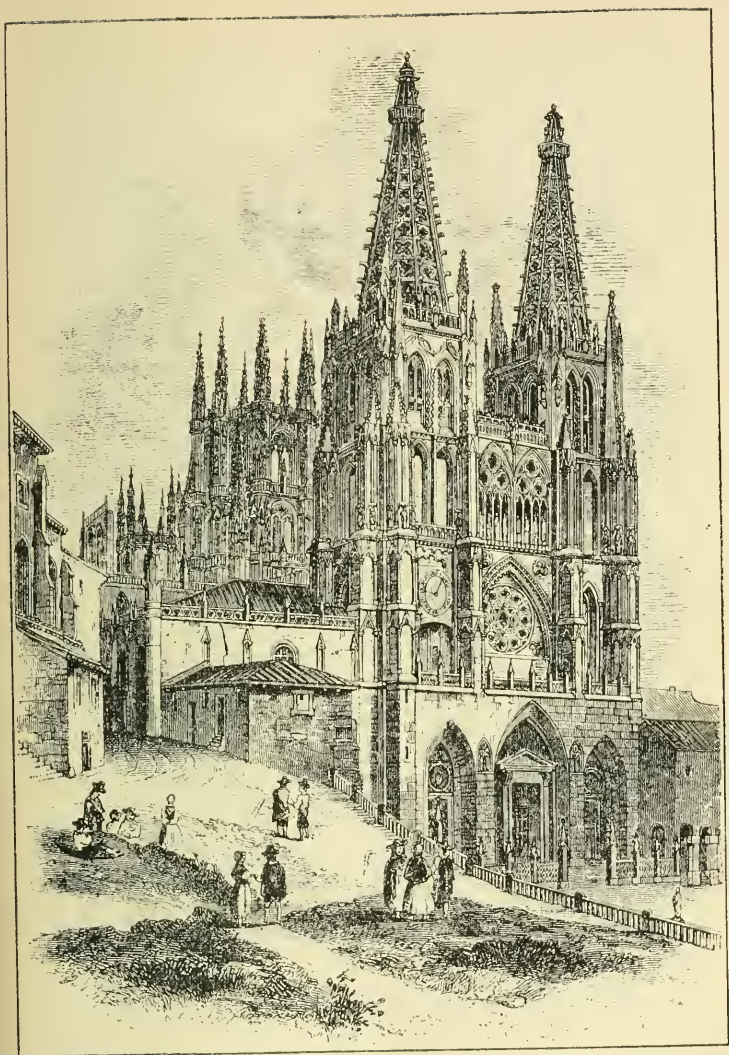
The groined roofs next to the lantern, on all sides, were of necessity rebuilt at the same time, and with detail quite unlike that of the original vault.

The exterior of the cathedral may be described at less length than the interior, presenting, as it does, fewer alterations of the original fabric, and much of what has been said of the one necessarily illustrating the other also.

The west front is well known by the many illustrations which have been published of it. The ground on which the church stands slopes up, as I have said, rapidly from south to north, but a level Plaza has been formed in front of the doors, and part of which is enclosed with balustrades and pinnacles of a sort of bastard Gothic, which I see drawn in a view published *circa* 1770, and which may possibly be of the same age as the latest Gothic works in the cathedral. On the rising ground to the north-west stands the little church of San Nicolas, high above the cathedral parvise, and hence it is that the view which I give from Mr. Fergusson's book is taken. Nothing can be more determinately picturesque, though nothing can be less really interesting, than this florid work, which everywhere substituted elaboration for thought, and labour for art. But I need say no more on this point; for if we now look more closely, we shall see that, underlying all these unsatisfying later excrescences, the old thirteenth-century cathedral is still here, intact to an extent which I had not at first ventured to hope for.

The western doors are three in number, but have been completely modernised. Of old the central door, "*del Perdon*," had effigies of the Assumption, with angels and saints; the northern door "the mystery of the Conception of the Blessed Virgin;" and the southern door her coronation.¹ Above the side doorways the two steeples rise, whilst in the centre is a finely-

¹ A view of the west front in A.D. 1771 shows the three western doors in their old state; they had statues on the door-jambs, and on the piers between them.—*Esp. Sag.* xxvi. p. 404.



BURGOS CATHEDRAL
NORTH-WEST VIEW

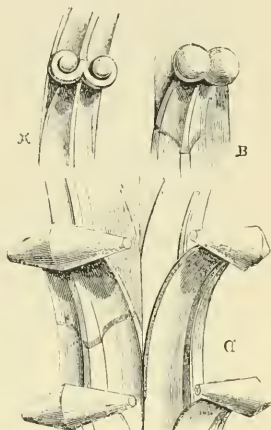
traceries rose-window, which lights the nave; and above this two lofty traceries openings, each of four lights, with effigies of saints standing one under each light, the whole forming a screen connecting the steeples, and entirely masking the roof. The steeples, up to this level, are of the original foundation, much altered in parts, and now put to strange uses, their intermediate stages being converted into dwelling-houses, and lively groups of cocks and hens being domesticated on a sort of terrace a hundred feet from the floor (3). The upper part of the towers and the spires was added in the fifteenth century, by Bishop Alfonso de Cartagena (1435-56), who employed Juan de Colonia (the German of whom I have already spoken) to design them. German peculiarities do not gain in attractiveness by being exported to Spain, and this part of Juan de Colonia's work is certainly not a success. Nothing can be less elegant than the termination of the spires, which, instead of finishing simply and in the usual way, are surrounded near the top by an open gallery, and then terminated with the clumsiest of finials. This work was commenced in A.D. 1442, and when the bishop died in A.D. 1456, one spire was finished, and the other, being well advanced, was soon completed under Bishop Luis Acuña y Osorio, the founder also of the central lantern.¹ Between the two towers is a figure of the Blessed Virgin, with the words "Pulchra es et decora." On the upper part of the towers, "Ecce Agnus Dei" and "Pax vobis;" and on the spires, "Sancta Maria" and "Jesus." These words are in large stone letters, with the spaces round them pierced.

The detail of the spires is coarse, and the open stonework traceries with which they are covered are held together everywhere by ironwork, most of which appeared to me to have been added since the erection. The crockets are enormous, projecting two feet from the angles of the spires, curiously scooped out at the top to diminish their weight, and with holes drilled through them to prevent the lodgment of water. The bells are, I think, the most misshapen I ever saw; and, as if to prove that beauty of all kinds is sympathetic, they are as bad in sound as they are in form!

The façades of the two transepts are quite unaltered, and as fine as those of the best of our French or English churches. I particularly delighted in the entrance to and *entourage* of the southern transept, presenting as it does all those happy groupings which to the nineteenth-century Rue-de-Rivoli-loving

¹ Cean Bermudez, *Arq. de Esp.* i. 105, 106.

public are of course odious, but to the real lover of art simply most exquisite and quaint.¹ The cloister and bishop's palace, built out from the church on the south, leave a narrow lane between them, not absolutely in face of the great door, but twisting its way up to it; the entrance to this is through a low archway, called the Puerta del Sarmental, above which, on the right, towers one of the enormous and really noble crocketed pinnacles which mark the angles of the cloister, and then, passing by several old monuments built into the walls of the passage, the great doorway is reached by a flight of steps at its end. Above this doorway is a fine rose window of twenty rays of geometrical tracery, and above this is a screen in front of the roof, consisting of four traceried openings, each of four lights, and each monial protected, as are the lights at the west front, by figures of angels rather above life-size. The angles of the transepts are flanked by crocketed pinnacles, the crockets here, as elsewhere throughout the early work, being simple in form and design, but as perfect in effect as it is possible for crockets to be. The sculptures of the south door are, in the tympanum, our Lord seated with the evangelistic beasts around Him, and



VARIETIES OF CROCKETS.

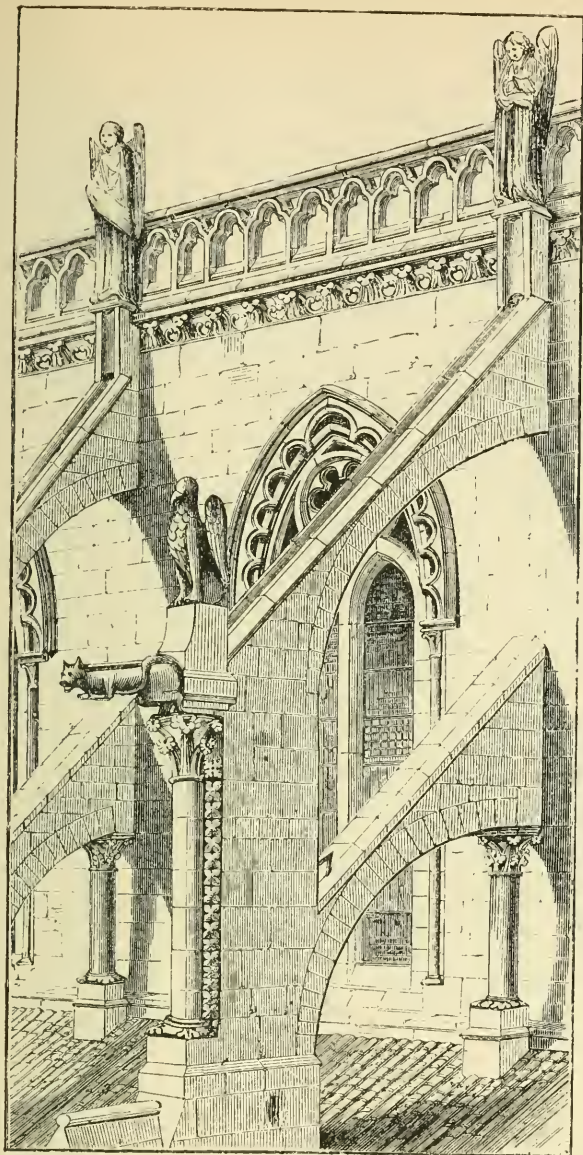
- A. In Tower Window Jamb;
- B. In Tower Window Arch;
- C. On Pinnacles of South Transept.

¹ It was well that I used the word "delighted" when I wrote this page, for this passage no longer delights me as it did. I visited Burgos again last year (1863), and found the Cathedral undergoing a sort of restoration; masons cleaning up everything inside, and by way of a beginning outside they had widened the passage to the south door, so as to make it square with and of the same width as the doorway; to do this a slice had been cut off the bishop's palace, at some inconvenience to the bishop, no doubt, the result of doing it being simply that much of the beauty and picturesqueness of the old approach to the church is utterly lost for ever. Of one thing such an unsuccessful alteration satisfies me—little indeed as I require to be satisfied on the point—and this is, that in dealing with old buildings it is absolutely impossible to be too conservative in everything that one does. Often what seems—as doubtless this thing did to the people of Burgos—the most plain improvement is just, as this is, a disastrous change for the worst. And when we find old work, the reason for or meaning of which we do not quite perceive, we cannot be wrong in letting well alone. It is to be hoped that Spain is not now going to undergo what England suffered from James Wyatt and others, and what she is still in many places suffering at the hands of those who follow in their steps!

the four evangelists, one on either side and two above, seated and writing at desks whilst below His feet are the twelve apostles, seated and holding open books. Below, there is a bishop in front of the central pier, and statues on either side, of which I made out two on the right to be S. Peter and S. Paul, and the two answering to them on the left, Moses and Aaron. The three orders of the archivolt have—(1) angels with censers, and angels with candles; (2 and 3) kings seated, and playing musical instruments. Here, as throughout the early sculpture the character of the work is very French, and the detail of the arcading below the statues in the jambs is very nearly the same as that of the earliest portion of the work in the west front of the Cathedral at Bourges.

The north transept differs but little from the other. The doorway—*De Los Apostoles*—is reached from the transept floor by an internal staircase of no less than thirty-eight steps (the sixteenth-century work of Diego de Siloe), and the whole front is of course much less lofty than that of the south transept, owing to the great slope of the ground up from south to north. Above the doorway is an early triplet, and above this the roof-screen and pinnacles, the same as in the other transept. The doorway has in the tympanum our Lord, seated, with S. Mary and S. John on either side, and angels with the instruments of the Passion above and on either side. Below is S. Michael weighing souls, with the good on his left and the wicked on his right. The orders of the archivolt have—(1) seraphim, (2) angels, and (3) figures rising from their graves: and the jambs have figures of the twelve apostles.

The ascent to the roofs discloses the remaining early features. These are the clerestory windows, and the double flying buttresses, of which I give an illustration. The water from the main roofs is carried down in a channel on the flying buttresses and discharged by gurgoyles. There are some sitting figures of beasts added in front of the buttresses which are not original. The parapet throughout is an open trefoiled arcade, with an angel standing guard over each buttress. The detail of the clerestory windows is very good; they are of two lights, with a cusped circle above, and a well-moulded enclosing arch. The windows in the apse are built on the curve. The capitals of the shafts in and under the flying buttresses are well carved, and there is a good deal of dog-tooth enrichment. At the back of the screen-walls, in front of the roofs of the nave and transepts, is seen the old weather-moulding marking the line of the



BURGOS CATHEDRAL
CLERESTORY OF CHOIR

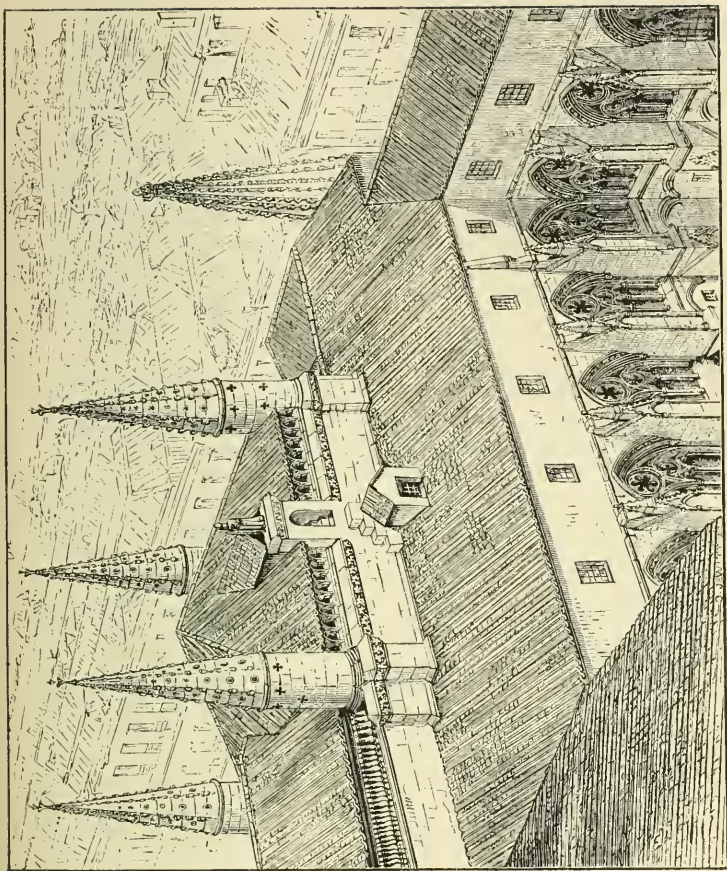
very steep-pitched roof (which was evidently intended to be erected), and the stones forming which are so contrived as to form steps leading up to the ridge, and down again to the opposite gutter. In the transept, pinnacles take the place of the angels over the buttresses, and their design is very piquant and original. The moulded string-course at the base of these pinnacles is of a section often seen in French work, and never, I believe, used by any but French workmen.

All the steep roofs have long since vanished, and in their place are flat roofs, covered with pantiles laid loosely and roughly, and looking most ruinous. It may well be a question, I think, whether the steep roofs were ever erected. The very fact that they were contemplated in the design and construction of the stonework, appears to me to afford evidence of the design not having been the work of a Spaniard: and it is of course possible that, at the first, the native workmen may have put up a roof of the flat pitch, with which they were familiar, instead of the steep roofs for which the gables were planned. But assuming that the steep roofs were erected, they must, no doubt, have been damaged by the fall of the lantern in 1539, and as it was reconstructed with reference to roofs of the pitch we now see, the roofs must have been altered at the latest by that time.

It is quite worth while to ascend to the roofs, if only to see what is, perhaps, the most charming view in the whole church; that, namely, which is obtained from the south-east angle of the lantern, looking down into the cloister, above the traceries of which rise the quaint pinnacles and parapets of the old sacristy, and the great angle pinnacles of the cloister itself, whilst beyond are seen the crowded roofs of the city, the all but dry bed of the Arlanzon dividing it in two parts, and beyond, on the one side, the steeple of the Convent of Las Huelgas rising among its trees, and on the other the great chapel of Miraflores, crowning a dreary, dusty, and desolate-looking hill in the distance.

I have left to the last all notice of the cloisters, which are said to have been built in the time of Enrique II. (1379-90), but I can find no authority for the statement, and believe that they would be more rightly dated between A.D. 1280 and A.D. 1350.¹ They are entered from the south transept by the fine doorway, of which a drawing is given by Mr. Waring in his work on

¹ In A.D. 1257 the king gave a piece of land opposite his palace (now the Episcopal Palace) to the Dean of Burgos. Was not this for the erection of the cloisters?



BURGOS CATHEDRAL
VIEW OF CLOISTERS FROM THE ROOF

Burgos. This would be thought an unusually good example of middle-pointed work even in England, and is as fair an instance as I know of the extreme skill with which the Spanish artists of the same period wrought. The planning of the jambs, with the arrangement of the straight-sided overhanging canopies over the figures which adorn them, are to be noticed as being nearly identical in character with those of the north transept doorway at Leon, and the strange feature of an elliptical three-centred arch to the door opening under the tympanum is common to both. The tympanum is well sculptured with the Baptism of our Lord, and the well-accentuated orders of the arch have sitting figures under canopies, and delicately-carved foliage. The flat surfaces here are, wherever possible, carved with a diaper of castles and lions, which was very popular throughout the kingdom of Castile and Leon in the fourteenth century. The figures on the left jamb of the door are those of the Annunciation, whilst, on the right, are others of David and Isaiah. The wooden doors, though much later in date, are carved with extreme spirit and power, with S. Peter and S. Paul below, and the Entry into Jerusalem and the Descent into Hell above. The ecclesiologist should set these doors open, and then, looking through the archway into the cloister, where the light glances on an angle column clustered round with statues, and upon delicate traceries and vaulting ribs, he will enjoy as charming a picture as is often seen. The arrangement of the masonry round this door shows, as also does its detail, that it is an insertion in the older wall.¹

The cloisters are full of beauty and interest. They are of two stages in height, the lower plain, the upper very ornate, the windows being of four lights, with a circle of ten cusps in the centre, and a quatrefoiled circle within the enclosing arch over the side lights. The groining ribs are well moulded, and the details throughout carefully designed and executed. At the internal angles of the cloister are groups of saints on corbels and under canopies placed against the groining shafts, and there is generally a figure of a saint under a recessed arch in the wall opposite each of the windows; ² besides which there are numerous monuments and doorways. Those on the east are the most noticeable. There is the entrance to the sacristy, with a sculp-

¹ One of the buttresses of the north transept is seen in the western alley of the cloister. On the face of it still remains one of the original dedication crosses—a cross patteé enclosed in a circle.

² On the east side these recessed arches have very rich foliage in their soffits.

ture of the Descent from the Cross in its tympanum; the entrance to the room in which the coffer of the Cid is preserved, with our Lord seated between SS. Mary and John and Angels; and on the south side are in one bay S. Joseph of Arimathea laying our Lord in the sepulchre, in another the Crucifixion; whilst sculptured high tombs, surrounded by iron *grilles*, abound. Indeed, I hardly know any cloister in which an architect might be better contented to be confined for a time; for though there are many which are finer and in better style, I know none altogether more interesting and more varied, or more redolent of those illustrations of and links with the past, which are of the very essence of all one's interest in such works.

One of the doors on the east side of the cloister opens into the old sacristy, a grand room about forty-two feet square, the groining of which is octagonal, with small three-sided vaulting bays filling in the angles between the square and the octagon. The corbels supporting the groining shafts are very quaintly carved with the story of a knight battling with lions.

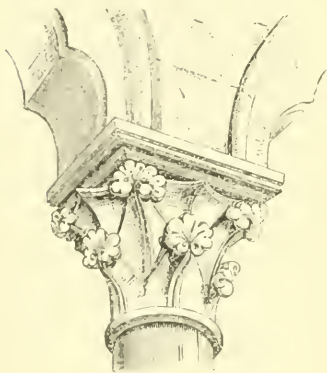
Here are kept the vestments of the altars and clergy, a right goodly collection in number, and three of them very fine. These are a blue velvet cope with orphreys, fairly wrought on a gold ground, and all the work bound with a twisted cord, which in one part is black and yellow; another cope, also of blue velvet, has a half-figure of our Lord in the centre of the orphrey, and angels on the remainder and on the hood, with wings of green, purple, and blue, exquisitely shaded and lined with gold; another has S. John the Baptist, the Blessed Virgin, our Lord, and three saints, under canopies. In all of them the velvet ground was covered with a large diaper pattern in gold, done before the embroidery was *appliqué*.

To the south of this sacristy is another groined chamber, in which is kept the coffer of the Cid,¹ and where the groining ribs are painted in rich colour for about three feet from the centre boss. A door out of this leads into the Chapter-house, a room with a flat wooden ceiling of Moresque character. It is made in parqueterie of coloured woods arranged in patterns with gilt pendants, and the cornice is of blue and white majolica, inlaid in the walls: the combination of the whole is certainly very effective. East of these rooms were others, of which traces still

¹ The coffer of the Cid is that which he filled with sand, and then pledged for a loan from some Jews, who supposed it to be full of valuables; afterwards he honestly repaid the borrowed money, and hence, perhaps, the coffer is preserved, the first part of the transaction being unquestionably not very worthy of record.

remain on the outside; but they have been entirely destroyed, and streets now form, on the east and on the south, the boundaries of the church and its dependent buildings. Advantage was taken of the rise of the ground to make a second cloister below that which I have been describing (4). In the centre of the enclosure stands a cross, but the arches are built up, and the cloister is now used for workshops, so that there is here none of that air of beauty which the gardened cloisters of Spain usually possess. In the north-west angle of this lower story is a sacristy, reached by a staircase from one of the choir chapels, and still in use for it.

I have now in a general way gone over the whole of this very interesting church, and have said enough, I hope, to prove that popular report has never overrated its real merits, though no doubt it has regarded too much those points only of the fabric which to my eye seemed to be least worthy of praise—the late additions to it rather than the old church itself. As to the charm of the whole building from every point of view there cannot be two opinions. It has in a large degree that real picturesqueness which we so seldom see in French Gothic interiors, whilst at the same time it still retains much of that fine Early Pointed work which could hardly have been the work of any but one who knew well the best French buildings



of his day; whoever he was—and amid the plentiful mention of later artists I have looked in vain for any mention of him—he was no servile reproducer of foreign work. The treatment of the triforium throughout is evidently an original conception; and it is to be noted that the dog-tooth enrichment is freely used, and that the bells of the capitals throughout are octagonal with concave sides. The crocketing of the pinnacles is, I believe,

quite original; and the general planning and construction of the building is worthy of all praise. Nor was the sculptor less worthy of praise than the architect. The carving of foliage in the early work is good and very plentiful; the figured

sculpture is still richer, and whether in the thirteenth-century transept doors, the fourteenth-century cloisters, or the fifteenth-century Retablos, is amazingly good and spirited. The thirteenth-century figures are just in the style of those Frenchmen who always conveyed so riant and piquant a character both of face and attitude to their work. The later architects all seem to have wrought in a fairly original mode; and even where architects were brought from Germany, there was some influence evidently used to prevent their work being a mere repetition of what was being done in their own land; and so aided by the admirable skill of the Spanish artists who worked under them, the result is much more happy than might have been expected. Much, no doubt, of the picturesque effect of such a church is owing to the way in which it has been added to from time to time: to the large number, therefore, of personal interests embodied in it, the variety of styles and parts each of them full of individuality, and finally to the noble memorials of the dead which abound in it. In France—thanks to revolutions and whitewash without stint—the noblest churches have a certain air of baldness which tires the eye of an Englishman used to our storied cathedrals: but in Spain this is never the case, and we may go to Burgos, as we may anywhere else in the land, certain that we shall find in each cathedral much that will illustrate every page of the history of the country, if well studied and rightly read.

There is one point in which for picturesque effect few countries can vie with Spain—and this is the admission of light. In her brilliant climate it seems to matter not at all how many of the windows are blocked up or destroyed: all that results is a deeper shadow thrown across an aisle, or a ray of light looking all the brighter by contrast; and, though it is often a hard matter to see to draw inside a church on the brightest day, it is never too dark for comfort, and one comes in from the scorching sun outside and sits down in the darkest spot of the dark church with the utmost satisfaction. I saw an evidence here one night of the natural aptitude of the people for such effects, in the mode of lighting up the cathedral for an evening service in a large chapel at the east end. There was one lantern on the floor of the nave, another in the south transept, and the light burning before the altar: and in the large side chapel was a numerous congregation, some sitting on the floor, some kneeling, some standing, whilst a priest, holding a candle in his hand, read to the people from the pulpit. In

this chapel the only other light was from the lighted candles on the altar. The whole church was in this way just enough lighted to enable you to see your way, and to avoid running against the cloaked forms that trod stealthily about; and the effect would have been inexpressibly solemn, save for the occasional intrusion of a dog or a cat, who seem to be always prowling about, and not unfrequently fighting, in Spanish churches.

Leaving the other churches and buildings of Burgos for the present, let us now cross the Arlanzon by one of its many bridges, and presently striking to the left we shall come upon the well-worn path by the side of the convent-stream, which in less than a mile from the city brings us to a postern of Las Huelgas.

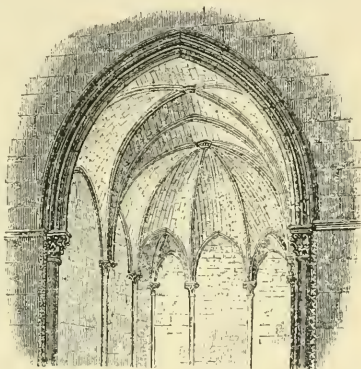
Santa Maria la Real de las Huelgas was founded by Alfonso VIII., son of D. Sancho *el Deseado*, at the instance, it is said, of Leonor (or Alienor) his queen, daughter of Henry II. of England, of whom I have before spoken in referring to Bishop Maurice, the founder of the cathedral. The dates given for the work are as follow:—The monastery was commenced in A.D. 1180; inhabited on the 1st June, A.D. 1187;¹ and in A.D. 1199 formally established as a house of Cistercians. The first abbess ruled from A.D. 1187 to A.D. 1203; and the second, Doña Constanza, daughter of the founder, from A.D. 1203 to A.D. 1218; and from that time forward a large number of noble persons here took the veil, whilst kings were knighted, crowned, and buried before its altars. No wonder, therefore, that the postern-gate of Las Huelgas—a simple thirteenth-century archway—leads, not at once into the convent, but into the village which has grown up around it, and which, whatever may have been its aspect in old times, is now as dreary, desolate, and forlorn-looking as only a Spanish or an Irish village can be, though still ruled as of yore by the lady abbess—no doubt with terribly shorn and shrunken revenues. There is a small church in the village here, but it is of no interest: and we may well reserve ourselves for the great church rising from behind the boundary walls which shut in the convent on all sides, and the people's entrance to which is from an open courtyard on its north side through the transept porch.

I give an illustration of the ground plan,² from which it will be seen that the church consists of a nave and aisles of eight bays, transepts, and choir, with two chapels on either side of it opening into the transept, whilst a porch is erected in front

¹ Manrique, *Anales Cistercienses*, iii. 201.

² Plate II., p. 52.

of the north transept, and a cloister passage along the whole length of the north aisle. A tower is placed on the north-east of the north transept, and a chapel has been added on its eastern side. There is another cloister court (5), of which a not very trustworthy lithograph is given in M. Villa Amil's work. This is within the convent, from which every one but the inmates is rigorously excluded, but, as far as I can learn, it is on the south side of the nave. The central compartment of the transept is carried up above the rest as a lantern, and groined with an eight-sided vault. The choir has one bay of quadripartite and one of sexpartite vaulting, and an apse. The transept chapels are all of them square in plan, but, by the introduction of an arch across the angle (the space behind which is roofed with a small vault), the vault is brought to a half-octagon at the east end. This will be best understood by the illustration which I give of one



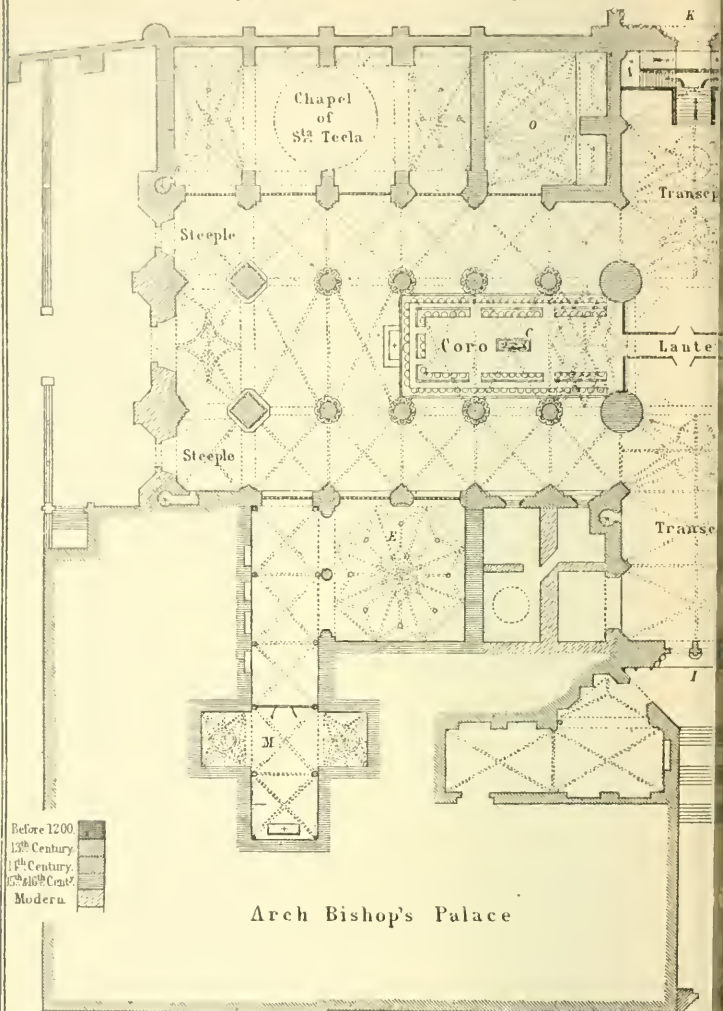
of these chapels: and here, too, it will be seen that the masonry of the vaulting cells is all arranged in vertical lines—parallel, that is, to the centre of the vault, and that the transverse section of the vault is in all cases exceedingly domical. Nothing can be more peculiar than this description of early vaulting, and it is one which, I believe, originated in Anjou or Poitou, where numberless examples may be found all more or less akin to this at Las Huelgas. This fact is most suggestive, for what more probable than that Alienor, Henry II.'s daughter, should, in the abbey which she induced her husband to found, have procured the help of some architect from her father's Angevine domain to assist in the design of her building? Yet, on the other hand, there are some slight differences of detail between the work here and any French example with which I am acquainted, which make it possible that the architect was really a Spaniard, but if so, he must have been well acquainted, not only with the Angevine system of vaulting, but also with some of those English details which, as is well known, were in common use both in Anjou and in England in the latter part of the twelfth

BURGOS: — Ground-Plan: of: Cathedral:

- A 11th Century Chapel
 B Chapel of S. Gregorie.
 C Monazment of Archbishop Maurice.

- D. Chapel of the Constable Velasco
 E. Chapel of the Presentation.
 F Chapel of S. Henrique.

- G. Pie
 H. Chu
 I. Pie



Before 1200
 13th Century
 14th Century
 15th & 16th Cent.
 Modern

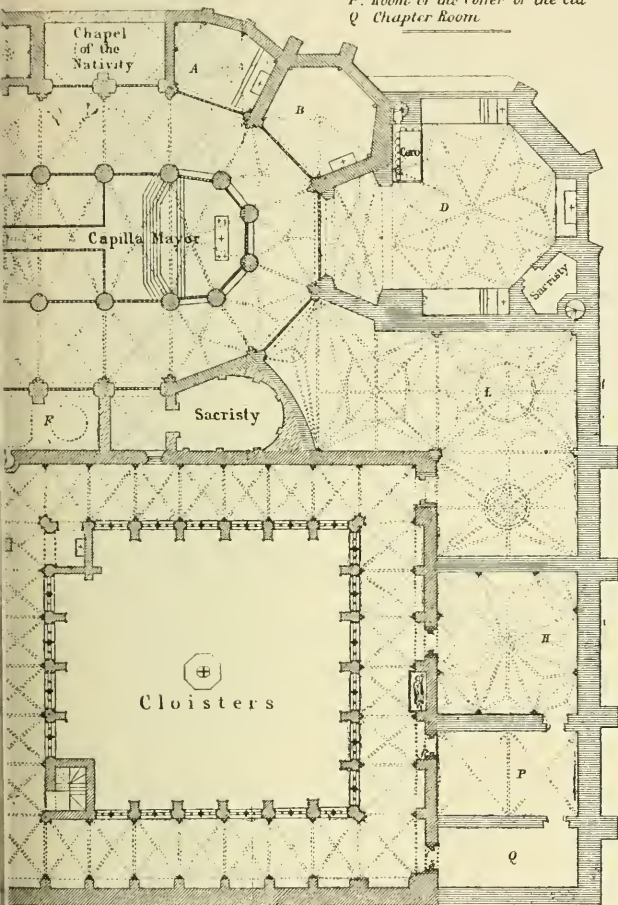
Arch Bishop's Palace

20 0 50
 10 0 40
 20 0 40

Armental.
Catharine (3)
Garden.

Calle de la Pellegeria

- K Gate of the Apostles
L. Chapel of Santiago
M. Chapel del Santisimo Cristo
N. Pulpits
O. Chapel of St. Anne
P. Room of the Coffer of the Cid
Q. Chapter Room



150 Feet
40 Metres
40 Varas.

and first half of the thirteenth century. A foreigner naturally gives us an exact reproduction of the work of some foreign school, just as we see at Canterbury in the work of William of Sens, and my own impression is strong that he must have been an Angevine artist who was at work here.

If I am correct in attributing this peculiar church to the Angevine influence of the queen, I prove at the same time a most important point in the history of the development of style in Spain. The planning of the church at Las Huelgas influenced largely the architects of Burgos, the capital of Castile and Leon. The groining of the only original chapel in the transept of the cathedral is a reproduction of the octopartite vault of the lantern at Las Huelgas; and one may fairly suspect that so, too, was the original lantern of the cathedral. Then, again, in a fourteenth-century chapel, north of the choir of the cathedral, we see the same device (*i.e.* the arched pendentive across the angle) adopted for obtaining an octagonal vault over a square chamber; and again in the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries, in a chapel on the south of the nave, in the old sacristy, and finally in the all but Renaissance chapel of the Constable, we have the Spanish octagonal vault, supported on pendentives, evidently copied by the German architect from the pendentives of the Romanesque churches on the Rhine. In these Burgales examples we have a typical vault which is extensively reproduced throughout Spain, and which I last saw at Barcelona, in work of the sixteenth century. It is a type of vault, in its later form, almost peculiar to Spain, and when filled in with tracery in the cell, I believe quite so. And it is undoubtedly more picturesque and generally more scientific in construction than our own late vaults, and infinitely more so than the thin, wasted-looking vaults of the French flamboyant style.

But to proceed with my notice of the church of Las Huelgas. The nave is groined throughout with a quadripartite vault; but beyond this I can say but little, as it is screened off from the church for the use of the nuns,¹ and the only view of it is obtained through the screen. The main arches between the nave and aisles are very simple, of two orders, the inner square, the outer moulded. Above these is a string-course level with the springing of the groining, and then a clerestory of long, simple lancet windows, the whole forming a noble and impressive interior. Above the nuns' stalls on the south I noticed a good

¹ The nuns' choir in the nave is, according to Florez, "the most capacious of all that are known in cathedrals and monasteries."—*Esp. Sag.* xxvi. 582.

fifteenth-century organ, with pipes arranged in a series of stepped compartments, and painted shutters of the same shape; below the principal range of pipes those of one stop are placed projecting horizontally from the organ. This is an almost universal arrangement in Spanish organs, and is always very picturesque in its effect, and I believe in the case of trumpet-stops very useful, though somewhat costly.¹

The detail generally of all the architecture here is very good, and in particular nothing can be more minute and delicate in execution than some of the sculpture of foliage in the eastern chapels, where also, as is frequently the case in early Spanish buildings, the dog-tooth enrichment is freely introduced wherever possible. The design of the interior of the choir is very good; below are lancet windows, with semi-circular inside arches; and above, lancets with double internal jamb-shafts, very picturesquely introduced high up in the walls, and close to the groining. I could only get a glimpse of the exterior of the apse, owing to the high walls which completely enclose the convent on the east. It has simple but good buttresses, but otherwise there seems nothing worthy of note. The rest of the exterior is, however, very interesting. The general view which I give shows the extremely simple and somewhat English-looking west front; the gateway and wall, with its Moorish battlements, dividing an inner court from the great court north of the church; and the curious rather than beautiful steeple. An arched bell-cot rises out of the western wall of the lantern, and a tall staircase-turret out of the western wall of the north transept. The cloister, which is carried all along the north aisle of the nave of the church, is very simple, having two divisions between each buttress, the arches being carried on shafts, coupled in the usual early fashion, one behind the other. A very rich first-pointed doorway opens into the second bay from the west of this cloister, and a much simpler archway, with a circular window over it, into the fifth, and at its east end a most ingenious and picturesque group is produced by the contrivance of a covered passage from the cloister to the projecting transept-porch. The detail here is of the richest first-pointed, very delicate and beautiful, but, apparently, very little cared for now. The cloister is entirely blocked up and converted into a receptacle for lumber, but I was able to see that it is groined (6). The rose window in the transept-porch, with doubled traceries

¹ The organ in All Saints, Margaret Street, has the pipes of one stop similarly placed; but I know no old English example of this arrangement.

and shafts, set one behind the other, with fine effect, the elaborate corbel-tables, and the doorway to the smaller porch—rich with chevron and dog-tooth—ought to be specially noticed: their detail being tolerably convincing as to their French origin. There are some curious monuments inside the transept-porch, which I was not able to examine properly, as when I went to Las Huelgas a second time, in order to see them, I found the church locked for the day. To see such a church properly it is necessary to rise with the lark; for after ten or eleven in the morning it is always closed.

There is a good simple gateway of the thirteenth century leading into the western court of the convent, but otherwise I could see nothing old, though I daresay the fortunate architect who first is able to examine the whole of the buildings will find much to reward his curiosity.¹ For there is not only a very fine early cloister, but also, if Madoz is to be trusted, a chapter-house, the vaulting of which is supported on four lofty columns, and which is probably, therefore, a square chamber with nine vaulting bays (7).

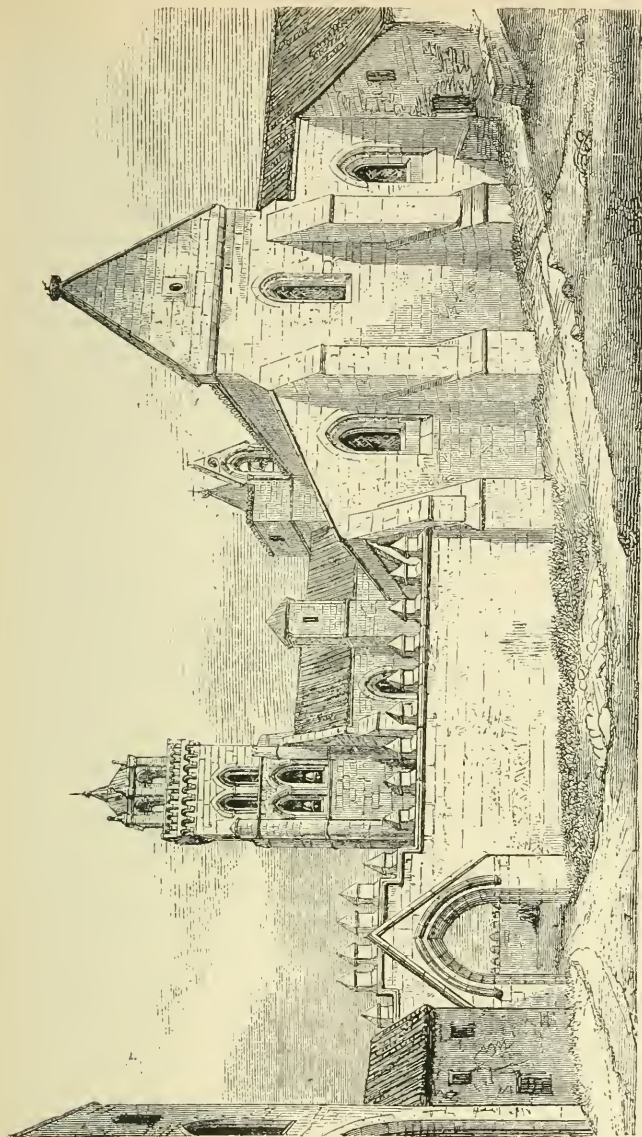
A long list of royal personages buried here is given by Florez.² In the choir are the founders, Alfonso VIII. and Alienor; in the nave of Sta. Catalina, Alfonso VII., the founder's grandfather, his father, his son Don Henrique I., and twenty more of his kin; and in other parts of the church a similarly noble company.

The king seems to have founded a hospital for men at the same time as, and in connection with, the convent; but I saw nothing of this, and I do not know whether it still exists.

Here took place many solemnities: Alfonso VII., nephew of the founder, was the first who was made a knight in it (A.D. 1219, Nov. 27); and in A.D. 1254 Don Alfonso *el Sabio* knighted Edward I. of England before the altar; whilst in later days it seems that in A.D. 1330, in A.D. 1341, and again in A.D. 1366,

¹ Mr. Waring and M. Villa Amil have both published drawings of the inner cloister. The drawing of the latter is evidently not to be trusted; but from Mr. Waring's view I gather that the arches are round, resting on coupled shafts, with large carved capitals. Mr. Waring calls them Romanesque, but in his drawing they look more like very late Transitional work, probably not earlier than A.D. 1200. They appear to be arranged in arcades of six open arches between large piers, and with such a construction the cloister could hardly have been intended for groining. The famous cloister at Elne, near Perpignan, with those of Verona Cathedral, S. Trophime at Arles, Montmajour, and Moissac, are examples of the class from which the design of such a cloister as this must have been derived, and its character is therefore rather more like that of Italian work, or work of the South of France or England.

² *España Sagrada*, xxvii. 611-614.



LAS HUELGAS, BURGOS
NORTH-WEST VIEW

the kings were here crowned; ¹ and in 1367 Edward the Black Prince lodged here after the battle of Navarrete, and went hence to the church of Sta. Maria to swear to a treaty with the King Don Pedro before the principal altar. ²

The convent seems to have been quite independent of the Bishop, ³ save that each abbess after her election went to ask him to bless the house, when he always answered by protesting that his consent to do so was in no wise to be construed in any sense derogatory to his power, or as binding on his successors. I observe that the abbesses here were elected for life until A.D. 1593, but that from that time they have held office for three years only; though in a few instances they have been re-elected for a second such term.

It was a relief, after the picturesque magnificence of the later Burgales architects, to turn to such a simple severe church as this at Las Huelgas. But I must not detain my readers any longer within its pleasant walls; and we will imagine ourselves to be there in A.D. 1454, in the midst of a group of the greatest of the nobles and clergy of Castile: we should have found the Bishop Alfonso de Cartagena there, and with him Juan de Colonia, his German architect, and Maestro Gil de Siloe, the sculptor, and Martin Sanchez, the wood-carver, all of them invited and ready to take part in a great work just about to be completed. Juan II. had just died at Valladolid, and forthwith his body was taken towards the Carthusian convent of Miraflores, by Burgos, where of old stood a palace, which in A.D. 1441 he had converted into a convent, and in A.D. 1454, just before his death, had begun to rebuild. The Bishop met his body at Palenzuela—one day's journey from Burgos—and brought it in procession to the *Real Casa de Las Huelgas*, where he rested the night; and thence he went onward, the coffin borne by ladies and gentlemen, to San Pablo in the city, where the Dominican Fathers sung the funeral office, and the next day—the feast of S. John the Baptist—to Miraflores, where the Bishop himself said the office and preached. Then the body was deposited with much pomp in the sacristy until the church should be finished. ⁴

Let us follow them thither. The walk is dreary enough on this hot September day, and terribly deep in dust; but yet, as it

¹ *España Sagrada*, xxvi. 350, 359.

² An interesting account of this meeting is given in *Cronicas de los Reyes de Castillos*, i. pp. 481-483.

³ That it was "of no diocese" was expressly recorded among the titles borne by the Abbess, and given by Ponz, *Viage de España*, xii. 65.

⁴ See the account at length in *Esp. Sag.* xxvii. 393 and 558.

risers up the slope of the hills on the side of the river opposite to the cathedral and city, good views are obtained of both. It is but a couple of miles to the convent, which stands desolately by itself, and never was there a spot which, in its present state, could less properly be called Miraflores, where not even a blade of grass is to be seen. The church stands up high above all the other buildings, but its exterior is not attractive; its outline is somewhat like, though very inferior to that of Eton College chapel, and its detail is all rather poor. The windows, placed very high from the floor, are filled with flamboyant tracery, the buttresses are plain, and the pinnacles and parapet quite Renaissance in their character, and are, no doubt, additions to the original fabric. The west gable is fringed with cusping—a very unhappy scheme for a coping-line against the sky! A court at the west end opens into the chapel by its west door, which is close to the main entrance to the convent; but we were taken round by several courts and quadrangles, one of them a cloister of vast size, surrounded by the houses of the monks. These are of fair size, each having two or three rooms below, and two above. Their entrance doorways are square-headed, quaintly cut up into a point in the centre of the lintel, and by the side of each door is a small hatch for the reception of food. Another smaller cloister, close to the south door of the church, has fair pointed windows, with their sills filled with red tiles, and edged with green tiles. Besides these remains, the only old work I saw was a good flat ceiling, panelled between the joists, and richly painted in cinquecento fashion. A good effect was produced here by the prevalence of white and red alternately in the patterns painted on the joists.

The chapel is entered from the convent by a door on the south side, in the third bay from the west. It consists of five bays and a polygonal apse, and is about 135 feet long, 32 wide, and 63 feet in height. The western bay is the people's nave, and is divided from the next by a metal screen. The second bay forms the Coro, and has stalls at the sides, and two altars on the east, one on each side of the doorway in the screen which separates the Coro from the eastern portion of the chapel. This last is fitted with five stalls on each side against the western screen, and with twenty on either side, all of them extremely rich in their detail: there is a continuous canopy over the whole, and very intricate traceries at the back of each stall.¹

¹ These stalls are like late Flemish work, but wrought by a Spaniard, Martin Sanchez, *circa* A.D. 1480, who received 125,000 maravedis for his labour.

A step at the east end of the stalls divides the sacarium from the western part of the chapel; and nearly the whole of the space here is occupied by the sumptuous monument of the founder and his second wife, Isabel or "Elizabeth," as she is called in the inscription. In the north wall is the monument of the Infante Alfonso, their son; and against the south wall is a sort of throne with very lofty and elaborate canopy, which is said by the cicerone to be for the use of the priest who says mass. Finally, the east wall is entirely filled with an enormous Retablo. The groining throughout has, as is usually the case in late Spanish work in Burgos, a good many surface ribs, and enormous painted bosses at their intersections. These are so much undercut, so large, and so intricate in their design, that I believe they must be of wood, and not of stone. They are of very common occurrence, and always have an extravagant effect, being far too large and intricate for their position. The apse is groined in thirteen very narrow bays, and its groining ribs are richly foliated on the under side. Pagan cornices of plaster and whitewash have been freely bestowed everywhere, to the great damage of the walls, and to such an extent as to make the interior look cold and gloomy. The windows are filled with what looks like poor Flemish glass, though it may perhaps be native work, as the names of two painters on glass, Juan de Santillana and Juan de Valdivieso, are known as residents in Burgos at the end of the fifteenth century,¹ about the time at which it must have been executed (8).

The monument of Juan and Isabel is as magnificent a work of its kind as I have ever seen²—richly wrought all over. The heraldic achievements are very gorgeous, and the dresses are everywhere covered with very delicate patterns in low relief. The whole detail is of the nature of the very best German third-pointed work rather than of flamboyant, and I think, for beauty of execution, vigour and animation of design, finer than any other work of the age. The plan of the high tomb on which the effigies lie is a square with another laid diagonally on it. At the four cardinal angles are sitting figures of the four evangelists, rather loosely placed on the slab, with which they seem to have no connection; the king holds a sceptre, the queen a

¹ See Cean Bermudez, *Dicc. Hist.* vi. 171.

² A decidedly hyperbolic inscription is quoted by Ponz, in which the Chapel of Miraflores is called a Temple, "second to none in the world for monuments, beauty, and curiousness."—Ponz, *Viage de Esp.* xii. 61. The remark might fairly have been made if he had referred only to the monuments.

book, and both lie under canopies with a very elaborate perforated stone division between the figures; round the sides of the tomb are effigies of kings and saints, figures of the Virtues, sculptured subjects, naked figures, and foliage of marvellous delicacy (9). A railing encloses the tomb. The whole is the work of Maestro Gil de Siloe; and from the Archives of the Church it appears that, in A.D. 1486, he was paid 1340 maravedis for the design of the work, that he commenced its execution in A.D. 1489, and completed it in A.D. 1493. The monument cost 442,667 maravedis, exclusive of the alabaster, which cost 158,252 maravedis.¹

About the same time, the same sculptor executed the monument of Alfonso, son of Juan and Isabel, in the north wall of the sacrarium. This, though less ambitious than the other, is a noble work. It consists of a high tomb with a recessed arch over it, and pinnacles at the sides. The high tomb has a great shield held by angels, with men in armour on either side; under the arch above the Infante kneels at a Prie-Dieu. The arch is three-centred, edged with a rich fringe of foliage and naked figures; and between it and the ogee gable above it is a spirited figure of S. George and the Dragon. The side pinnacles have figures of the twelve apostles, and one in the centre the Annunciation.²

The Retablo is no less worthy of notice. Its colour as well as its sculpture is of the richest kind. Below, on either side of the tabernacle (which has been modernised), are S. John Baptist and S. Mary Magdalene, and subjects on either side of them; on the left the Annunciation, and S. Mary Magdalene anointing our Lord's feet, and on the right the Adoration of the Magi and the Betrayal of our Lord; whilst beyond, Alfonso and Isabel kneel at faldstools, with their coats-of-arms above them. Above the Tabernacle is the Assumption of the Blessed Virgin, and above this a grand circle entirely formed of clustered angels, in the centre of which is a great crucifix surmounted by the Pelican vulning her breast. Within this circle are four subjects from the Passion, and a King and a Pope on either side holding the arms of the Cross, which is completely detached from the background (10). On either side are S. John and S. Mary; and beside all these, a crowd of subjects and figures, pinnacles and canopies, which it is impossible to set down at length. The whole of this work was done by the same Gil de Siloe, assisted

¹ Quoted by Cean Bermudez, *Dicc. Hist.* iv. 378.

² There is an illustration of this monument in Mr. Waring's book.

by Diego de la Cruz, at a cost of 1,015,613 maravedis, and was executed between A.D. 1496 and 1499. Behind the Retablo some of the old pavement remains, of encaustic tiles in blue, white, and red.

The works at this church seem to have made but slow progress owing to the troubled state of the kingdom after the death of Juan II. His son gave something towards the works in A.D. 1454, but nothing more until A.D. 1465. In A.D. 1474 he died, and was succeeded by Isabel the Catholic, who, in A.D. 1476, confirmed the grants to the monastery, and completed the church in A.D. 1488; but it was not, as we have seen, until the end of the century that the whole work was really finished. Juan de Colonia made the plan for the building in A.D. 1454, for which he received 3350 maravedis: he directed its construction for twelve years, and after his death, in A.D. 1466, Garci Fernandez de Matienzo continued it till he died of the plague in the year 1488, when Simon, son of Juan de Colonia, completed it.¹

Having completed my notice of the three great buildings of Burgos and its neighbourhood, and which in their style and history best illustrate the several periods of Christian art, I now proceed to give some notes of the Conventual and Parish Churches, which are numerous and fairly interesting. In Burgos, however, as is so often the case on all parts of the Continent, the number of desecrated churches is considerable. The suppression of monasteries involved their desecration as a matter of course; and without religious orders it is obviously useless to have churches crowded together in the way one sees them here. I remember making a note of the relative position of three of these churches, which stand corner to corner without a single intervening house, and though this is an extreme case, the churches were no doubt very numerous for the population. Unluckily a desecrated church is generally a sealed book to an ecclesiologist. They are usually turned to account by the military; and soldiers view with proverbially jealous eyes any one who makes notes!

Just above the west front of the Cathedral is the little church of San Nicolas, mainly interesting for its Retablo, which, however, scarcely needs description, though it is gorgeously sculptured with the story, I think, of the patron. Its date is fixed by an inscription, which I give in a note.² On either side are monu-

¹ See *España Sagrada*, xxvii. 559. Cean Bermudez, *Dicc. Hist.* iv. 324, vi. 285, and *Arg. de España*, i. 106 and 121.

² "Nobilis Vir Gonsalvus Polanco, atque ejus conjux Eleonora Miranda hujus sacri altaris auctores hoc tumulo conquiescunt:" "Obiit ille anno 1505 hæc vero 1503."

ments of a type much favoured in Spain, and borrowed probably from Italy, of which the main feature is, that the figures lie on a sloping surface, and look painfully insecure. Here, too, I saw one of the first old western galleries that I met with in my Spanish journeys; and as I shall constantly have to mention their existence, position, and arrangement in parochial churches, it may be as well to say here, that at about the same date that choirs were moved westward into the naves of cathedrals, western galleries, generally of stone, carried on groining, and fitted up with stalls round three sides, with a great lectern in the centre, and organs on either side, were erected in a great number of parish churches. It cannot be doubted that in those days the mode of worship of the people was exactly what it is now; no one cared much if at all for anything but the service at the altar, and the choir was banished to where it would be least seen, least heard, and least in the way! At present it seems to me that one never sees any one taking more than the slightest passing notice of the really finely-performed service even in the cathedral choirs; whilst in contrast to this, in the large churches, with an almost endless number of altars, all are still used, and all seem to have each their own flock of worshippers; and though it is a constant source of pain and grief to an ever-increasing body of English Churchmen that the use of their own altars should be so lamentably less than it ever was in primitive days, or than it is now in any other branch of the Catholic Church, it is some comfort to feel that our people have tried to retain due respect for some of the other daily uses of the Church, inferior though they be. In Spain, though I was in parish churches almost every day during my journey, I do not remember seeing the western gallery in use more than once. Sometimes it has been my fate to meet with men who suppose that the common objection to galleries in churches is, that there is no old "authority" for them. Well, here in Spain there is authority without end; and I commend to those Anglicans who wish to revive or retain their use in England the curious fact, that the country in which we find it is one distinguished beyond all others by the very decided character of its Romanism, and the period in which they were erected there, one in which Rome was probably more hostile to such as they than any other in the whole course of her history.¹

¹ I fear I must add that Roman Catholics still seem to be fond of western galleries; for one of the most recent, and I hope the most hideous of their works, the new Italian church in Hatton Garden, has, in addition to all

BURGOS: Convent of Las Huelgas:

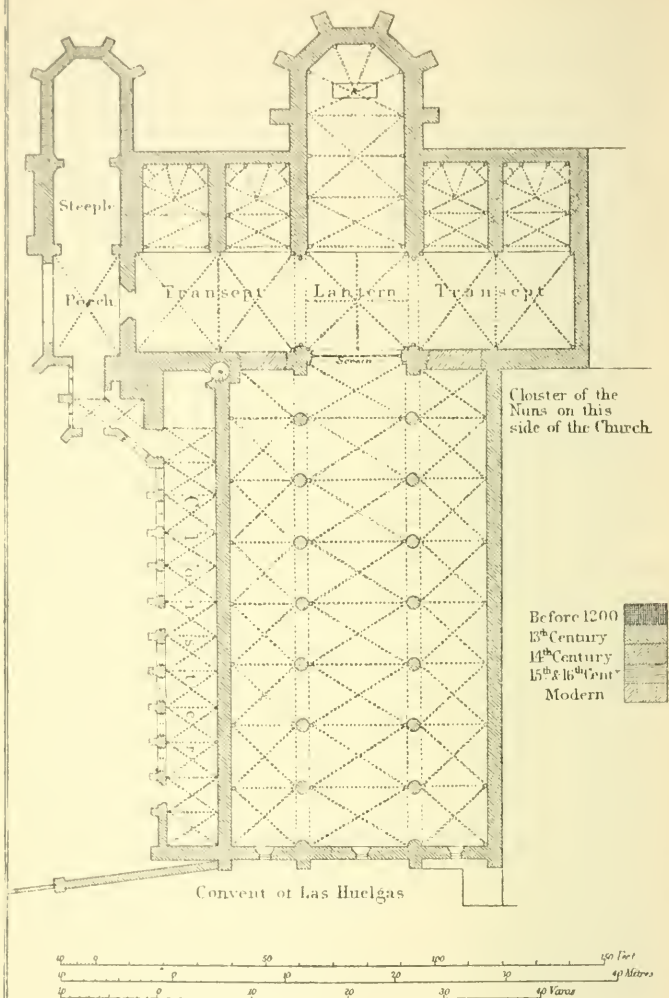
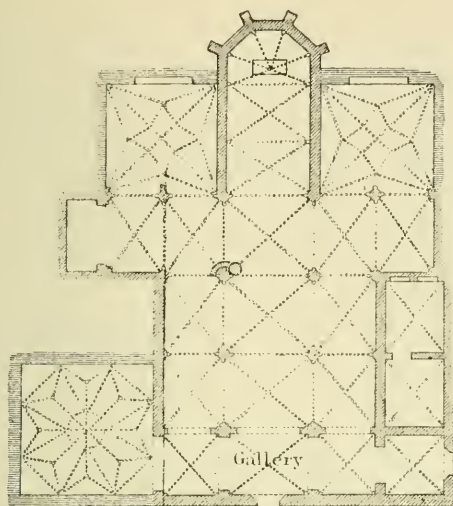
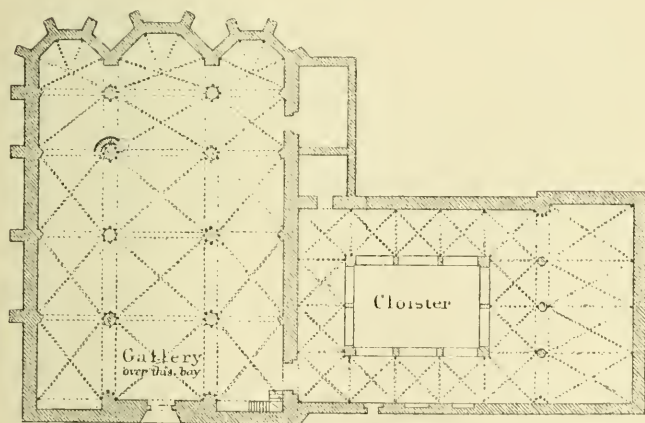


PLATE II.

Ground Plans of San Gil: and San Esteban:



San Gil



San Esteban

The gallery of San Nicolas is less important than most of its class are; and there is indeed little to detain any one within its walls (11). Externally there is a low tower rising out of the west end of the south aisle. This has a fine third-pointed south doorway with an ogée crocketed canopy, and a belfry stage of two lancet-lights on each face, roofed with a flat roof of pantiles. The remainder of the church has been much altered; but a good flying-buttress remains on the south side, and one or two lancet-windows which convey the impression that the first foundation of the church must have been in the thirteenth century. The east wall is not square, but built so as to suit the irregular site. The whole church is ungainly and ugly on the exterior, and its planning and proportions neither picturesque nor scientific. It is, in short, one of those churches of which we have so many in England, from which nothing is to be learnt save on some small matter of detail; and the alterations of its roofs, windows, and walls have in the end left it an ungainly and uncouth outline, which is redeemed only by its picturesque situation on the slope of the hill just above the cathedral parvise, with which it groups, and from which it is well seen.

Following the steep path of the east end of San Nicolas, I soon reached the fine church of San Esteban. It stands just below the castle, the decaying walls of which surround the slope of melancholy hill which rises from its doorway; these, though now they look so incapable of mischief, yet effectually thwarted the Duke of Wellington.¹ It is quite worth while to ascend the hill, if only for the view. San Esteban, shorn as it is—like all Spanish churches—of more than half its old external features, with pinnacles nipped off, parapets destroyed, windows blocked up, and roofs reduced from their old steep pitch to the uniform rough, ragged, and ruinous-looking flat of pantiles, which is universal here, forms, nevertheless, a good foreground for the fine view of the cathedral below it and the other points of interest in the town beyond. Yet these are fewer than would be

its other faults, the glaring one of a western gallery fitted up like an orchestra, whilst the part of the floor which, according to all old usage, was given to the choir to sing praises to God, seems from the aspect of the chairs with which it is filled to be reserved for the more "respectable" part of the congregation! Extremes meet, and this Italian church would be easily convertible, as it would be most suitable, to the use of the baldest form of Dissent!

¹ Ponz, *Viage de Esp.* xii. 21, gives an inscription on one of the towers of the castle, which states that Pedro Sanchez, *Criado y Ballistero*, servant and archer to the king (Enrique 11.), was its Mayordomo during its construction in the year 1295.

expected in such a city, so long the capital of a kingdom and residence of a line of kings. There are no steeples worthy of remark save those of the cathedral, the churches are all, like San Esteban, more or less mutilated, and there is—as always in cities which have been great and now are poor—an air of misery and squalor about only too many of the buildings on which the eye first lights in these outskirts of the city.

I have not been so lucky as to find any record bearing in any way upon the erection of San Esteban (12), and I regret this the more, as its place among the churches of Burgos is no doubt next after the cathedral, and in all respects it is full of interest.

The ground plan (Plate II.) will explain the general scheme of the building—a nave and aisles, ended at the east with three parallel apses, a cloister, and a large hall on the south of and opening into the cloister. The north side of the cloister has been much mutilated by the erection of chapels and a sacristy, whilst the north wall of the church is blocked up by low buildings built against it. The only good view of the exterior is that from the south-west. Spanish boys did their best to make sketching it impossible, yet their amusements were after all legitimate enough for their age, and it is very seldom in Spain that a sketcher is mobbed and annoyed in the way he commonly is in France or Italy when he ventures on a sketch in an at all public place.

The erection of this church may, I believe, be dated between A.D. 1280–1350; and to the earlier of these two periods the grand west doorway probably belongs. The tympanum contains, in its upper compartment, our Lord seated, with S. John the Evangelist, the Blessed Virgin, and angels kneeling on either side—a very favourite subject with Burgalese sculptors of the period; below is the martyrdom of the patron saint, divided into three subjects: (1) S. Stephen before the king; (2) Martyrdom of S. Stephen, angels taking his soul from his body; and (3) the devil taking the soul of his persecutor. The jambs have each three figures under canopies, among which are S. Stephen (with stones sticking to his vestments) and S. Laurence. The doorway is built out in a line with the front of the tower buttresses, and above it a modern balustrade is placed in advance of the west window, which is a fine rose of twenty rays. This window at a little distance has all the effect of very early work; but upon close inspection its details and mouldings all belie this impression, and prove it to be certainly not earlier than the middle of the fourteenth century. The whole of the tracery is

thoroughly geometrical, and the design very good. Above it is a lancet window on each face, and then the lower part only of a belfry window of two lights, cut off by one of the usual flat-pitched tiled roofs. A staircase turret is carried up in the south-west angle and finished with a weathering at the base of the belfry stage. The buttresses are all plain, and, as I have said, shorn of the pinnacles with which they were evidently intended to be finished.¹

This church seems to be always locked up, and I think it was here that the woman who lives in the cloister and shows the church told me that there was service in the church once only in the week; and certainly it had the air which a church misused in this way usually assumes.

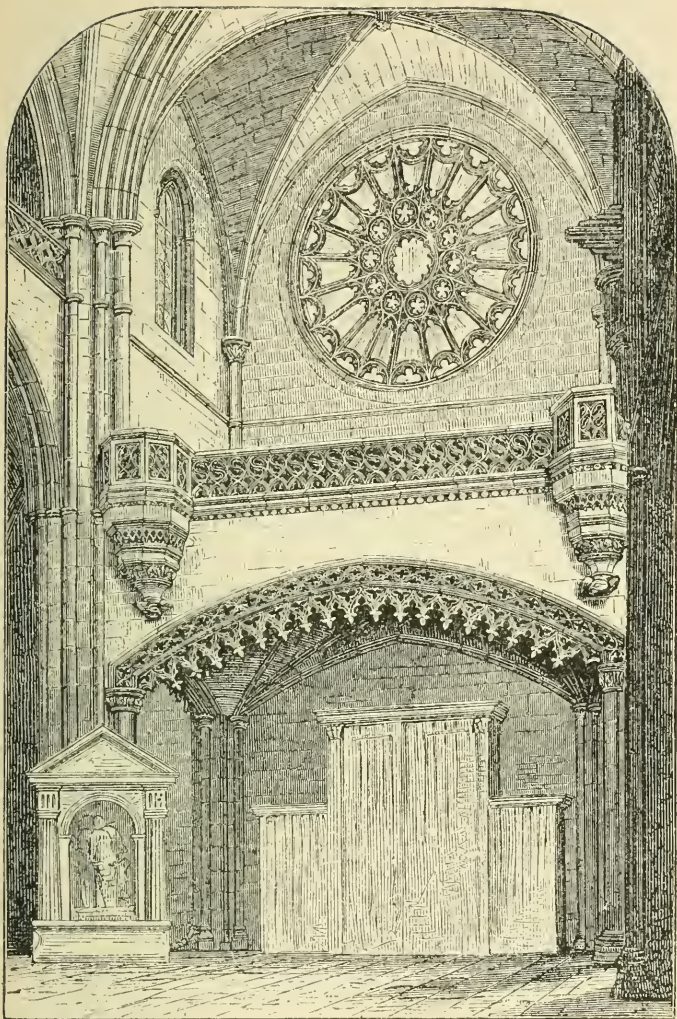
We were admitted by the cloister, a small and much mutilated work of *circa* A.D. 1300. It opens by four arches into a large hall on its south side, which is groined at a higher level than the cloister. The groining of the cloister is good, and the ribs well moulded; but the window tracery is all destroyed, and most of the windows are blocked up. The central court is very small, as indeed is the whole work: but a cloister may be of any size, and in some of our many collegiate erections of the present day it would be as well to remember this, and emulate really and fairly the beautiful effects always attained by our forefathers in this way.²

In the western wall of the cloister are two arched recesses for monuments, one of which has a coped tomb, with eight steps to the foot of the cross, which is carved upon its lid. The eastern side is later than the rest, and its groining probably not earlier than A.D. 1500.

Entering the church from hence we find a very solid, simple, and dignified building, spoilt indeed as much as possible by yellow wash, but still in other respects very little damaged. It is groined throughout, and the groining has the peculiarity of having ridge ribs longitudinally but not transversely. This is common in Spain; but it is impossible to see why one ridge should require it and the other not, and the only explanation is

¹ In Braun and Hohenburgius' *Théâtre des Villes*, A.D. 1574, there is a view of Burgos, which must have been drawn somewhat earlier, as the Chapel of the Constable is not shown in the cathedral; San Esteban is represented with a spire on its tower.

² I particularly refer here to our colonial cathedrals, in which I wish that the founders would from the first contemplate the erection of all the proper subordinate buildings as well as that of the church itself; and also to those large town churches which we may hope to see built before long, and served by a staff of clergy working together and encouraging each other.



SAN ESTEBAN, BURGOS
INTERIOR LOOKING WEST

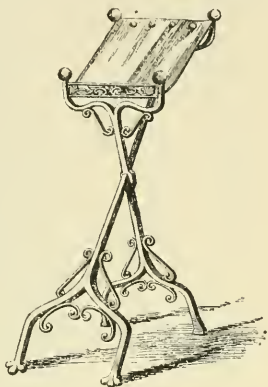
that possibly the architect wished to lead the eye on from end to end of the building. In the groining of an apse this ridge-rib in its western part always looks very badly, and jars with the curved lines of all the rest of the ribs. The columns of the nave arcades are circular, with eight smaller engaged shafts around them, those under the western tower being rather more elaborate and larger than the others. Here we see a clear imitation of the very similar planning of the cathedral nave. The planning of the east end is more interesting, because, whilst it has no precedent in the cathedral, it is one of the evidences we have of the connection of the Spanish architecture of the middle ages with that of other countries, which we ought not to overlook. I have said something on this in speaking of the plan of Las Huelgas. Here, however, I do not think we can look in the same direction for the original type of plan; for, numerous as are the varieties of ground-plan which we see in France, there is one—the parallel-triapsidal—which we meet so seldom that we may almost say it does not occur at all. In Germany, on the other hand, it is seen everywhere, and there, indeed, it is the national plan: in Italy it is also found constantly. In Spain, however, it was quite as much the national ground-plan as it was in Germany; almost everywhere we see it, and in any case the fact is of value as proving that the Spaniards adopted their own national form of Gothic, and were not indebted solely to their nearest neighbours, the French, for their inspiration and education in architecture, though undoubtedly they owed them very much (13).

San Esteban is lighted almost entirely from windows set very high up in the walls. Those in the apses are in the position of clerestory windows, their sills being level with the springing of the groining. The consequence of this arrangement—a very natural one in a country where heat and light are the main things to be excluded from churches—was that a great unbroken space was left between the floor and the windows; and hence it happened that the enormous Retablos, rising seldom less than twenty feet, and often thirty, forty, or even sixty feet from the floors, naturally grew to be so prominent and popular a feature. In San Esteban the Retablos are none of them old, but doubtless take the place of others which were so.

The western gallery is so good an example of its class, that I think it is quite worthy of illustration. It is obviously an insertion of *circa* A.D. 1450, and is reached by a staircase of still later date at the west end of the south aisle. I cannot deny it the merit of picturesqueness, and the two ambons which

project like pulpits at the north and south extremities of the front add much to its effect. The stalls are all arranged in the gallery in the usual fashion of a choir, with return stalls at the west end and a large desk for office books in the centre. The organ is on the north side in the bay east of the gallery, and is reached through the ambon on the Gospel¹ side. This organ, its loft, and the pulpit against it are all very elaborate examples of Plateresque² Renaissance work.

Of the fittings of the church two only require any notice, and both of them are curious. One is an iron lectern, just not Gothic, but of very fair design,³ and of a type that we might with advantage introduce into our own churches. The other is a wooden bier and herse belonging to some burial confraternity, and kept in the cloister; the dimensions are so small (and I saw another belonging to the confraternity of San Gil of the same size), that it was no doubt made for carrying a corpse without a coffin. One knows how in the middle ages this was the usual if not invariable plan,⁴ and as these hersees are evidently still in use



¹ *i.e.* the north side, which would be the side of the Gospel ambon if it faced in the right direction. As I never saw these galleries used, I do not know how the ambons were really appropriated.

² The work of Berruguete and his school is so called in Spain from its plate-like delicacy of work in flat relief. For Renaissance work it has a certain air of rich beauty, not often attained in other lands; and, indeed, it is only a debt of justice due to the architects of Spain from the time of Berruguete in 1500 to that of the ponderously Pagan Herrera towards the end of the same century, to say, that whatever faults may be found with their over great exuberance and lavish display of decoration, they nevertheless possessed rare powers of execution, and a fertility of conception (generally, it must be owned, of very ugly things), for which they may well be envied by their school now, as they were in their own day. Indeed, if the revivers of the Renaissance in these days ever think of such a thing as importing a new idea, I wish heartily that they would go to Spain and study some of her sixteenth-century buildings.

³ The similar but rather earlier iron lectern preserved in the Hôtel Cluny at Paris is well known. See an illustration of it from a drawing of mine in the second volume of *Instrumenta Ecclesiastica* of the Ecclesiological Society.

⁴ The curious cemetery at Montmajour, near Arles, is full of graves excavated in the rock, and cut out just so as to receive the body; so too are all our own old stone coffins. See also the illuminations illustrating the burial office so constantly introduced in *Books of Hours*.

(that of San Gil having been repainted in 1850), it has possibly never been given up (14).

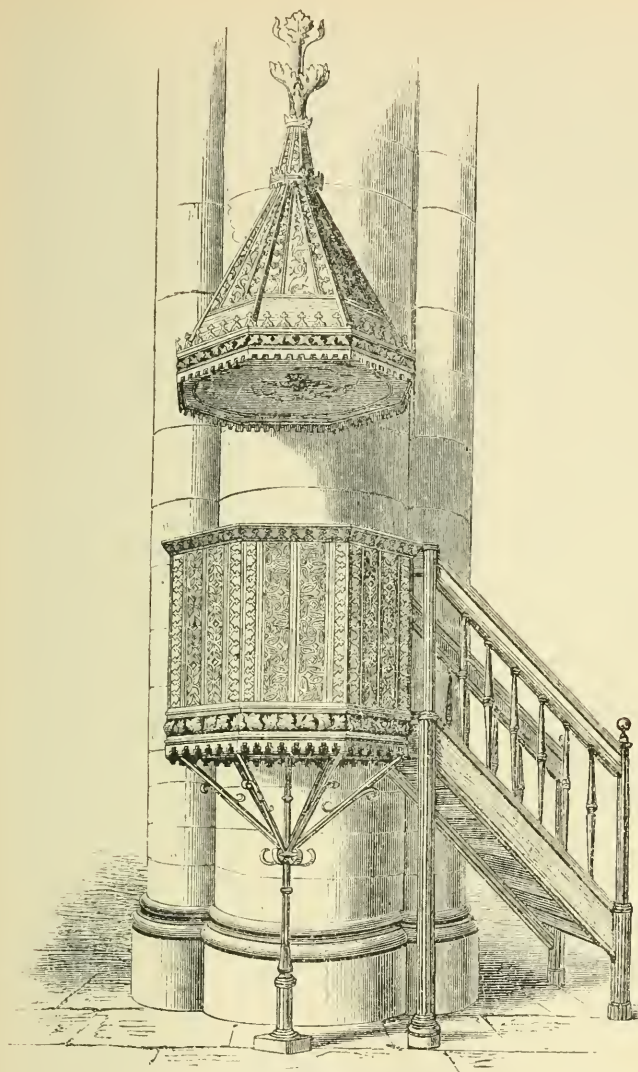
The main thing, I think, that struck me in the architecture of San Esteban, was the very early look of all its proportions and details compared to what seemed to be their real date, when examined more in detail and with the aid of mouldings, traceries, and the like; and its value consists mainly in the place it occupies among the buildings of Burgos, illustrating a period of which otherwise there would be very little indeed in the city.

From San Esteban I found my way first through the decayed-looking and uninteresting streets, and then among the ruined outskirts of the north-eastern part of the city, to the church of San Gil, situated very much in the same kind of locality as San Esteban, on the outskirts of the city. This church is just mentioned in *España Sagrada*¹ twice: first as being named, with ten other churches in Burgos, in a Bull of A.D. 1163; and subsequently, as having been built by Pedro de Camargo and Garcia de Burgos, with the approbation of Bishop Villacraces in A.D. 1399; and Don Diego de Soria, and his wife Doña Catalina, are said to have rebuilt the Capilla mayor in A.D. 1586.

I give the plan of this church on Plate II. (p. 53), and am inclined to doubt the exact truth of the statements just quoted. I believe the church to be a cruciform structure of the fourteenth century, whose chancel and chancel aisles reproduced the plan of Las Huelgas, but were probably rebuilt in A.D. 1399. The so-called Capilla mayor is probably the chapel on the north side of the north aisle, a very elaborate semi-Renaissance erection, with an octagon vault, reproducing many of the peculiarities of Spanish groining, supported upon pendentives similar to those of which I have spoken in describing the later works in the cathedral; and it is no doubt the work of one of the descendants or pupils of Juan de Colonia. The late chapels on each side of the choir have enormous wooden bosses at the intersection of the groining ribs, carved with tracery, and with a painting of a saint in the centre. This mixture of painting and sculpture is very much the fashion in Spanish wood-carvings, and the altar Retablos often afford examples of it. In the floor of this church are some curious effigies of black marble, with heads and hands of white.² Two such remain in the east wall of one of the southern chapels, where they lie north and south.

¹ Vol. xxvii. p. 675.

² This is a very common Flemish custom; but whether the Flemings borrowed it from Spain, or *vice versa*, I cannot say.



SAN GIL, BURGOS
IRON PULPIT

The Retablos of the two chapels, north and south of the choir, are very sumptuous works (15).

Against the north-west pier of the crossing there stands what is perhaps the most uncommon piece of furniture in the church, an iron pulpit. It is of very late date, but I think quite worthy of illustration. The support is of iron, resting on stone, and the staircase modern. The framework at the angles, top and bottom, is of wood, upon which the ironwork is laid. The traceries are cut out of two plates of iron, laid one over the other, and the ironwork is in part gilded, but I do not think that this is original. The canopy is of the same age and character, and the whole effect is very rich, at the same time that it is very novel.¹ I saw other iron pulpits, but none so old as this.

I visited two or three other parish churches, but found little in them worth notice. San Lesmes is one of the largest, consisting of a nave with aisles, transepts, apsidal choir, and chapels added in the usual fashion (16). The window tracery is flamboyant, and the windows have richly moulded jambs, and are very German in their design. The south door is very large and rich, of the same style, and fills the space between two buttresses, on the angles of which are S. Gabriel and the Blessed Virgin.² Close to San Lesmes are the church of San Juan, and another, the dedication of which I could not learn (17), whilst opposite it is the old Convent of San Juan, now converted into a hospital. The entrance is a great doorway, remarkable for the enormous heraldic achievements which were always very popular with the later Castilian architects. The church of San Juan is now desecrated; it is cruciform in plan, with a deep apsidal chancel, and seems to have had chapels on the east side of the transepts. The ground is groined throughout, and its window tracery poor flamboyant work. San Lucas (18) has a groined nave of three bays, and there is another church near it of the same character. They both appear to have been built at the end of the sixteenth century.

Of old convents, the most important appears to have been that of San Pablo. It is now desecrated, and used as a cavalry store; and though I was allowed to look, I could not obtain permission to go into it. Florez³ gives the date of the original

¹ Iron pulpits were not unknown in England in the middle ages. There was one in Durham Cathedral. See *Ancient Rites of Durham*, p. 40.

² A drawing of this door is given by Mr. Waring, *Architectural Studies in Burgos*, pl. 39.

³ *España Sagrada*, vol. xxvi. pp. 382-387, and vol. xxvii. p. 540.

foundation of the monastery in A.D. 1219, and says that it was moved to its present site in A.D. 1265, but not completed for more than 150 years after that date. The inscription on the monument of Bishop Pablo de Santa Maria, on the Gospel side of the altar in San Pablo (19), records him to have been the builder of the church,¹ and his story is so singular as to be worth telling. He was a Jew by birth, a native of Burgos, and married to a Jewess, by whom he had four sons² and one daughter. In A.D. 1390, at the age of forty, he was baptised; and having tried in vain to convert his wife, "he treated her as though she were dead, dissolving his marriage legally, and ascending to the greater perfection of the priesthood." In A.D. 1415 he was made Bishop of Burgos, and being at Valladolid at the time, all Burgos went out to meet him as he came to take possession of his see. "His venerable mother, Doña Maria, and his well-loved wife Joana, waited for him in the Episcopal Palace, from whence he went afterwards to adore God in the cathedral." Doña Joana was buried near the bishop in San Pablo, with an inscription in Spanish, ending, "she died (*falleció*) in the year 1420," and from the absence of any religious form in the inscription, I infer that she died unconverted. The bishop died in A.D. 1435.

The church of San Pablo consists of a nave and aisles of five bays, transepts, and apsidal choir, with many added chapels. The nave groining bays are square, those of the aisle oblong, a mode of planning which marks rather an Italian-Gothic than a French or German origin. The church is vaulted throughout, with very domical vaults, and lighted with lancets in the aisles, circular windows in the clerestory, and traceried windows in the choir. Part of the old western gallery still remains. The vaulting has transverse, diagonal, and ridge ribs. The apse is well buttressed, but, like all the churches in Burgos, San Pablo has lost its old roofs, and has been so much spoilt by the additions which have been made to it, that its exterior is very unprepossessing. Not so the interior, which, both in scale and proportion, is very fine. The architect of San Pablo is said to have been Juan Rodriguez, who commenced it in 1415, and completed it before 1435.³

¹ "Qui venerandus Pontifex hanc ecclesiam cum sacristia et capitulo suis sumptibus ædificavit."—*España Sagrada*, xxvi. p. 387. The cloister was rebuilt by Alonso de Burgos, Bishop of Palencia, circa 1480-99.—G. G. Dávila, *Teatro Eccl.* ii. 174.

² The inscription on the monument of Gonsalvo, Bishop of Sigüenza, contained the following passage: "Hic venerandus Pontifex fuit filius, ex legitimo matrimonio natus, Reverendi Pontificis Dñi Pauli," etc.

³ Cean Bermudez, *Arq. de España*, i. 103.

Another convent, that of La Merced, has been treated in the same way, and is now a military hospital. Its church is on the same plan as that of San Pablo, with the principal doorway in the north wall instead of the west, and this opening under the usual vaulted gallery. There is, too, a small apsidal recess for an altar in the north wall of the north transept. The window tracery and details here are all of very late Pointed, but the buttresses and flying buttresses are good. Flat roofs, destroyed gables, and the entire absence of any steeple or turret to break the mass, make the exterior of little value. This convent was moved to its present site in A.D. 1272, but I doubt whether any part of the exterior now visible is so old as this.

I saw no other churches worthy of mention in Burgos; but there are others which ought to be examined in the neighbourhood, among which one a little beyond Las Huelgas (20), of large size, surrounded by trees, and apparently belonging to a convent, seemed to be the most important.¹

There are but few remains of old Domestic Architecture. The Palace has been modernised, but is still approached by a groined passage from the south door of the cathedral. The Palace of the Constable Velasco is a bald and ugly erection of the sixteenth century, in the very latest kind of Gothic; its walls finished with a strange parapet of crocketed pinnacles and stones cut out into a sort of rude fork; its entrance a square-headed doorway, with a large space above it, enclosed with enormous chains carved in stone, within which are armorial bearings. The internal courtyard is surrounded by buildings of three stages in height, with open arcades to each, and traceried balconies. The arcades and windows throughout have debased three-centred arches.

The principal town gateway, that of Sta. Maria, is close to the cathedral; its rear is a very simple but massive work of the thirteenth century, and rather Italian in its design. The front facing the Prado and the river was so much altered by Charles V. that it is doubtful whether any of the old work remains; it is now a very picturesque jumble of circular towers and turrets, battlemented and crenellated, and looking rather like one of those mediæval castles which are seen either in an illumination, or in a canopy over a figure in stained glass, than like a real and useful fortified gateway.

¹ In *L'Univers Pittoresque, Espagne*, vol. xxxi. pl. 54, is a view of the ruin of the west end (apparently) of the convent of Carmelites at Burgos; it is a very richly sculptured and panelled front of the most florid kind of latest Pointed, and in a ruinous state.

It will be seen how full of interest to the ecclesiologist Burgos is. My notes are, I have no doubt, not by any means exhaustive; and I have equally little doubt that one who had more time at his disposal would discover much more than I found; besides which, I was under the impression, when I was at Burgos, that the Monastery of San Pedro de Cardena, so intimately connected with the story of the Cid, and where he lay peacefully till the French invasion, had been entirely destroyed, whereas, in truth, I believe the church founded in the thirteenth century still remains; and, if so, must certainly reward examination. It is but a few miles from Burgos (21).

The great promenade here is along the river-side, where the houses are all new, bald, and uninteresting; but the back streets are picturesque, and there is a fine irregularly-shaped Plaza, surrounded by arcades in front of the shops, where are to be found capital blankets and *mantas*, useful even in the hottest weather if any night travelling is to be undertaken, and invariably charming in their colour.

NOTES

(1) M. Camille Enlart compares it, with justice, to the triforium at Leon, and cf. p. 34.

(2) These have, all three, carved wooden retables, painted and gilded, which are related (and in especial that on the north) to others in the town and near—at the *Cartuja* of Miraflores, and at Covarrubias in the Collegiate church. In Burgos itself may be counted that in San Lesmes, three in San Gil, and one in the Chapel of S. Anne in the cathedral. This last shows a superb Tree of Jesse, and the Church and Synagogue above. The chapel of S. John Sagahun, the easternmost of the south aisle, shelters the scattered panels of a good painted retable that show a strong Flemish influence, but are unmistakably Spanish. A Flemish triptych hangs on the south wall of the Constable's chapel; and there the treasures of the little sacristy are still shown, among them a small Milanese Madonna, rather lovely.

(3) No more, alas!

(4) They are now (1912) putting tracery into the windows of the lower cloister, which is good, and glass, which is bad, and opening the old arches between the cloisters and the street, filling these with an iron grill that is cast, not forged.

(5) There seem to be three in all, *vide* note 7 below.

(6) This cloister is now open and in good condition.

(7) Las Huelgas was a Cistercian foundation. According to Señor Lampérez, who gives a plan of the whole, there survive, of the original: the church with two doors and a chapel adjoining;

the great cloister, called that of S. Ferdinand; the refectory, much altered; the chapter-room, the finest Cistercian in Spain; and the small cloister called *claustrillas*. The eastern end of the church and across the transept with the chapels is Angevine, 1180-1215; the nave, Isle of France, 1215-1230. The great cloisters have a pointed barrel-vault, and three small arches to a bay; about the *claustrillas*, Señor Lampérez quotes and sustains Street's note in regard to date and *provenance*.

(8) It was brought from Flanders for Isabel the Catholic.

(9) The subjects are: underneath the Queen a Pietà and the seven Virtues, treated as in French Renaissance work; under the King a hermit, a saint, the Sacrifice of Isaac, Joseph in hat and cloak with crimped hair; Samson with a broken pillar; Esdras with cup and bag; David with harp; Daniel with six small lions; and Queen Esther: above, the four Evangelists at the cardinal points, and twelve apostles at the other angles salient and re-entrant.

(10) I find in my notes that this retablo presents the Holy Trinity: on the gospel side of the great Cross the Eternal Father; and on the Epistle side the Holy Ghost like a young prince, long-haired and beardless, with open crown. But perhaps Street's reading is right.

(11) Since the recent restoration San Nicholas preserves in the easternmost bay on the north side, in a retablo thoroughly trashy as to carving and images, ten precious panels of early, exquisite painting, and above, a great round of saints with the Christ of the Apocalypse, all apparently from the earlier Retablo Mayor. The panels, though disarranged, contain the enthronement of S. Nicholas as Bishop; the story of the cup and the boy, in two scenes; that of the poor knight's daughters, in two scenes; the three school children raised out of the tub; and a scene I could not identify of a seated man, troubled, with a crowd about him; also the Annunciation, S. Anthony of Padua with three nuns as donors, and S. James with three men as donors. Other panels may yet exist in Burgos for the finding, and all is of the purest, beautiful primitive work.

(12) D. Amador de los Rios says ¹ that San Esteban is mentioned along with San Nicholas and Santa Agueda in 1316 by Alexander III., but that, of course, proves nothing about the present building.

(13) So many French Romanesque churches show the parallel apses that the plan seems a characteristic less of certain countries than of certain traditions, most marked where the Romanesque strain persisted in full strength and where Gothic was less native and, so to speak, less inevitable.

(14) The biers are still about (1912).

(15) That in the south chapel is full of interest and beauty, an Epiphany the central scene, below the figure of the Salvator Mundi and above that of S. Thomas with a flaying knife, a book, and a black Indian slave. To right and left of him are SS. Peter and Paul, and beyond these on the Gospel side, in three groups, SS. Michael and Jerome, SS. Sebastian and Paul the Hermit, SS. Anthony of Padua and Anthony Abbot; on the Epistle side SS. Augustine and John, SS. Mary Magdalen and Christopher; SS. Andrew and Lawrence; in the predella, donors with S. Giles, the Pietà and the

¹ *España*.

Mass of S. Gregory, and donors with S. Catharine. That on the north side, nothing like so good, shows a Madonna enthroned, below an Assumption, flanked by SS. Peter and Paul, S. George and S. Ferdinand; in the predella the four evangelists at desks. There is another good one in the late chapel on the north side of the nave, with a full life of the Blessed Virgin and innumerable saints set in the niches and up the outer frame. That is called in Spanish *guarda polvo*, and constructed precisely to keep out dust, with sloping sides, something like what modern dealers call a shadow-box. The retables of the Burgalese are a subject in themselves, on which little has been written, and the best of that, though brief and inadequate, reprinted by Señor Serrano-Fatigati from the *Boletino de la Sociedad Española Excursionista*, is now out of print.

(16) This is a slip. San Lesmes has no chapels between the buttresses. It has a number of very late Gothic tombs, and a charming retable in the apse of the south aisle; in the upper left-hand corner occurs an interesting episode of travel that I could not identify, but fancied might belong to the fairy *épopée* of S. Michael the archangel.

(17) At present S. Bernard; it belongs to Cistercian nuns.

(18) I could not hear of any San Lucas in Burgos, but San Cosme seems to fit the description.

(19) San Pablo has also disappeared and left no memory.

(20) This should be, according to Baedeker, the Hospital del Rey, a lodging-house for pilgrims.

(21) Several churches which should be visited from Burgos can be reached by carriage or diligence. San Pedro de Cardena, rebuilt by Abbot Pedro de Burgos in 1447, has still a few arches and capitals of the earlier work. The church of Sassamón, of the thirteenth, fourteenth, and fifteenth centuries, has five parallel apses and a west aisle to the transepts as high as the centre, a nave of five bays of pure earlier Gothic, that recalls Las Huelgas, fifteenth-century chapels along the north aisle, and the ruins of a cloister along the south⁴.

Santo Domingo de Silos dates, the church from 1041-73, the lower cloister from the eleventh, the upper cloister from the twelfth century.¹ In 1750, Ventura Rodriguez rebuilt the church itself, but the cloisters are intact. One of the lower capitals can be dated between 1073 and 1076. They show not only the monsters familiar in Romanesque work all over Europe, but others fetched directly from the east—winged and feathered antelopes, and manticores with crowned head pecking at eagles—in a tangle that resolves itself into symmetrical arabesques of creatures face to face or back to back. Six out of the eight reliefs on the corner piers are visibly of the same school as those at Arles.

The abbey of San Quirse has a fine Romanesque west window and round-arched west porch. Fres del Val, a Jeronymite convent, founded 1414 by D. Gomez Manriquez, Governor of Castile, seems to have more considerable ruins than one would guess from Baedeker's curt line. A daily diligence from Burgos to Santo Domingo de la Calzada, carries one into the heart of the Rioja.

¹ According to M. Bertaux from the thirteenth.

CHAPTER III

PALENCIA—VALLADOLID

IT was after a day of hard work at Miraflores, Las Huelgas, and Burgos, taking last looks and notes, that we drove to the railway station *en route* for Palencia. Castile does not improve on acquaintance, and, so far as I could judge in the hurried views obtained from the railway-carriage, we missed nothing by moving apace. The railroad follows the broad valley of the Arlanzon, bounded on either side by hills of moderate height, occasionally capped with sharp cones and peaks, but everywhere of an invariable whitish-grey colour, which soon wearies the eye unspeakably. The few villages seen from the valley seemed generally to occupy the slopes of the hills, and to have large, shapeless, and unattractive churches. Indeed, it is not possible to go very far in Spain without feeling either that Spanish architects seldom cared for the external effect of their buildings, or that whatever they did has been ruthlessly spoilt in later days. Even in a city like Burgos this is the case, and of course it is even more so in villages and smaller towns.

The Spanish railways are, on the whole, well managed. They are usually only single lines, and there is no attempt made to go very fast. Perhaps, too, any one who has travelled along Spanish roads, deep with a five months' accumulation of dust, and at the pace popular with diligence proprietors, comes to the consideration of the merits and management of a railway in a frame of mind which is not altogether impartial. The luxury even of a second-rate railway is then felt to the utmost, and there is not much desire, even if there is need, for grumbling. It was dark when we arrived at Palencia, and, getting a boy to carry the baggage, we walked off under his directions in search of the *Posada de las Frutas*. The title was not promising. But Palencia, a cathedral city, and the principal town between Valladolid and Santander, has nothing in the way of an inn better than a *Posada*, and it was to the best of its class that we had been recommended. The first look was not encouraging, but the people welcomed us cheerfully, and going across

the covered entrance way, took us up to a room which was fairly clean and furnished with the remains of eight smart chairs, six of them hopelessly smashed, and the other two so weak in their legs and spines that it was necessary to use them in the most wary and cautious manner! However, the beds were clean, and the bread and grapes—here as everywhere at this season in Spain—so delicious, that, even had the cookery been worse than it was, we might have managed very well. Later in the evening, when I came back from a short ramble through the town, I found the open entrance-court and passage uneven with the bodies of a troop of muleteers, each of whom seemed to have a skinful of wine in his charge and a rough kind of bed laid on the stones; and if I may judge by the way in which they snored as I picked my way among them to my room, they had no occasion to envy me my occupation of the room of state.

I spent a day in Palencia, and found it almost more than its architectural treasures required. I went there with some idea that I should find a very fine cathedral, still retaining all its old furniture of the fourteenth century, and soon discovered that I had been somewhat misinformed. I hoped too, at any rate, if I found no first-rate work, to find something which was peculiar to the district in its artistic character; but in this also I was doomed to be disappointed.

The city is divided into two parts by a very long winding street running entirely across it from north to south. The houses on either side are supported on stone columns (some of them very lofty), so that the general effect is much that of one of the old arcaded Italian cities.

The cathedral, dedicated to S. Antholin, stands in a desolate-looking open space on the edge of the hill which slopes down to the river Carrion on the west side of the city. Cean Bermudez says that it was commenced in A.D. 1321,¹ and completed in the beginning of the sixteenth century.² An inscrip-

¹ The first stone of the cathedral was laid on the 1st of June, 1321, by Cardinal Arnolfo, legate of Juan XXII., assisted by Juan II., Bishop of Palencia, and six other bishops, among whom was the Bishop of Bayonne; "and the first prebendary who had charge of the works (*obrero*) in this holy church was Juan Perez de Aceves, Canon and Prior of Usillos, who assisted in laying the first stone with the legate and the bishops."—G. G. Dávila, *Teatro Eccl.* ii. 159.

² In 1504 the conclusion of the cathedral of Palencia was undertaken by Martin de Solórzano, an inhabitant of Sta. Maria de Haces, under the condition that he should finish his work in six years, with stone from the quarries of Paredes del Monte and Fuentes de Valdepero. Salorzano, however, died in 1506, and Juan de Ruesga, a native of Segovia, finished it.—Cean Bermudez, *Arg. de España*, vol. i. p. 142.

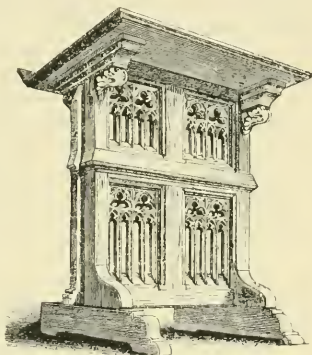
tion on the door from the cloister to the church has the date A.D. 1535, and the enclosure of the choir is of A.D. 1534. These dates appear to be fairly correct; but the work having been so long in progress, it may, I think, be assumed that the ground-plan only is of the earliest date, and that the greater part of the architectural detail belongs more probably to the fifteenth than to the fourteenth century. This is quite consistent with the evidence afforded by the building, for the detail of the design is of very poor character throughout, and the window tracery is generally of inferior and rather late flamboyant style. The triforium is well developed, having large traceried openings; and the church is groined throughout. In the eastern part of the chevet the window tracery has an early character, but the mouldings belie this effect; and, if I may judge by them, none of it is earlier than *circa* A.D. 1350-70. The plan of the chevet is probably old, but all its details, save those of the piers between the chapels, have been modernised. The thin spandrels of the vaulting in the apse of the choir are pierced with cusped circles, a device occasionally seen in French churches.

It will be seen, therefore, that there is little to praise here, save the grand scale upon which the work has been done. The nave is 36 feet 8 inches from centre to centre of the columns, whilst each aisle is no less than 31 feet 2 inches. The relative proportions are bad, but owing to the arrangement of the Coro in the nave there is not much opportunity of seeing this, and the internal view of the aisles, owing to their width and to the very massive character of the nave columns, is extremely fine. The nave is of five bays in length, the two eastern bays being occupied by the Coro. There is an altar against the western screen of the Coro, in front of which are some steps leading down to a well, said to be that of S. Antholin, the tutelar saint. The whole of the stalls are old, and fine of their kind; they are mainly the work of El Maestro Centellas, a Valencian, who contracted to execute them about the year 1410,¹ but they are not in their old place, for in A.D. 1518-19 Pedro de Guadalupe agreed to move them from the old choir into the new choir for the sum of fifteen hundred maravedis, and to execute twenty

¹ Gil Gonzalez Dávila, *Iglesia de Palencia*, fol. 164, gives a letter from the Chapter to the Bishop D. Sancho de Rojas, begging for money for the work. The Chapter state that the stalls are to cost 76,000 maravedis, and that they are the work of "Maestro Centellas," and that they propose to adorn the Bishop's seat with four achievements of arms. The bishop at the time this letter was written was at Valencia, assisting at the wedding of Alonso, Prince of Gerona, and the daughter of King D. Enrique III.—G. G. Dávila, *Teatro Eccl.* ii. 164.

additional stalls for the sum of two thousand maravedis each.¹ At the same time the Retablo was moved forward and enlarged to fit its new position by one Pedro Manso, at a cost of two hundred ducats; whilst Juan de Valmeseda executed the statues of the Blessed Virgin Mary, S. John, and the Crucifixion for it for one hundred ducats.²

These facts are of great interest, proving as they do that the stalls stood from the year 1410 to 1518 in their proper place in the choir, and were then moved to their present position in the nave precisely in the same way that we have already seen the old arrangement changed at Burgos at about the same period. This peculiar Spanish arrangement of the Coro in the nave, and separated from the altar, we may now, I think, assume was not known or thought of until this comparatively late date in this part of Spain, though now it is universal throughout the country. The design of the stalls is somewhat like that of late Flemish work, but peculiar in many respects: the forward slope of the stall elbows, the rich traceries behind the lower stalls—very varied in their design—and the continuous canopies of the upper stalls, are all worthy of notice. I did not observe any distinction in the style of the work answering to the dates at



PRIE-DIEU

which Maestro Centellas and Pedro de Guadalupe were employed, and I think, therefore, that the latter must have copied rather closely the work of the former. Probably, however, the Prie-Dieu desk in front of the bishop's stall is of the later date, as also the desks which have been widened in front of the upper row of stalls; and possibly Pedro de Guadalupe executed the twenty stalls on each side of the choir forming the easternmost block.

The eastern part of the church has been worse treated even than the nave, all the old arrangements having been ruthlessly altered. The apse, shut in by screens, covered with a low groined gallery, and used as a mere chapel,³ is dark, dismal,

¹ Cean Bermudez, *Dicc. Hist.* vol. ii. p. 236. ² *Ibid.* vol. v. p. 121.

³ Also in his (D. Sancho de Rojas, A.D. 1397 to A.D. 1411) time was built the Capilla mayor, which is now the *Parroquia* of the church.—G. G. Dávila, *Teatro Eccl.* ii. 164.

and undignified. The bay west of the apse is open from north to south, but walled in on the west with the wall behind the high altar. West of this are two bays walled in at the sides, and then we come to the transept, which is open, save the rails marking the passage from the Coro to the choir (1). The whole arrangement is so confused, unintelligible, and contrary to the obvious intentions of the first designers of the fabric, that it hardly needed documentary evidence to prove that it had no kind of ancient authority. There is no lantern or Cimborio at the crossing. The metal screens¹ across the choir are of no special interest, but those round the apse and opening into one or two of the chapels of the chevet are better, and well illustrate the designs of most of the fifteenth-century iron screens in Spain. They are met with in all directions, for there was no country in the middle ages which made so free a use of iron. They have most of the faults of German ironwork of the same age, the smiths having apparently forgotten the right use of their hammers, and, like Birmingham smiths of the present day, having tried to do what was necessary with thin plates of iron twisted about fantastically here and there, but very much more easily wrought, and proportionably less effective, than the work of the English smiths of a couple of hundred years earlier.

The whole of the floor of the eastern part of the church has been lowered, in some places as much as three feet, in order to obtain a level procession path all round the aisles.

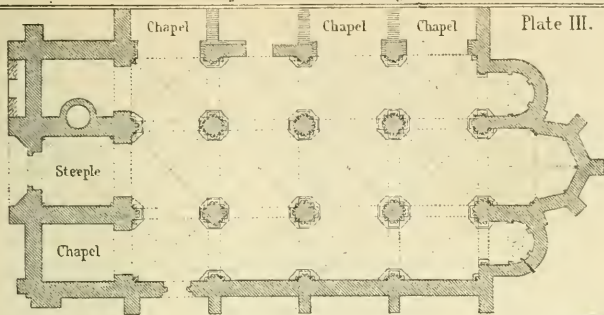
On the south side of the nave are the cloisters (2), which are large, with lofty arched openings, but they have been despoiled of their traceries. Their style is poor third-pointed, and in their present state they are thoroughly uninteresting.² To the west of them is the Chapter-house, a large groined room, opening, not, as is usual, from the cloister, but from an outer lobby. The sacristy, on the south side of the choir, contains a few objects

¹ Cristóbal Andino made the Reja of the Capilla mayor in A.D. 1520 for 1500 ducats, and in 1530 the screen for 430 ducats, and Gaspar Rodriguez made that of the Coro in 1555 for the sum of 3600 gold ducats, paid by the bequest of Bishop D. Luis Cabeza de Vaca.

² Cean Bermúdez, *Arq. Esp.* i. 60, says the date 1535 exists on the door from the church to the cloister: and G. G. Dávila, *Teatro Eccl.* ii. p. 171, says that in the time of D. Juan Rodriguez de Fonseca (translated to Burgos in A.D. 1514) the greater part of the chapels from the crossing downwards were built, as also the cloister and chapter-house. The same bishop gave the stairs leading to the well of S. Antholin, repaired the dormitories, and gave to the sacristy a rich set of altar vestments (*terno*) of brocade, four tapestries of ecclesiastical history, and four others of "*Salve Regina*."

PALENCIA AND VALLADOLID: Ground Plans of San Miguel, S^t. Maria and San Benito.

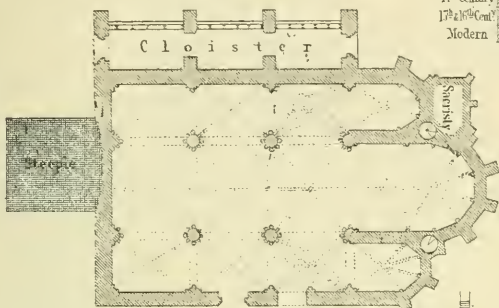
Plate III.



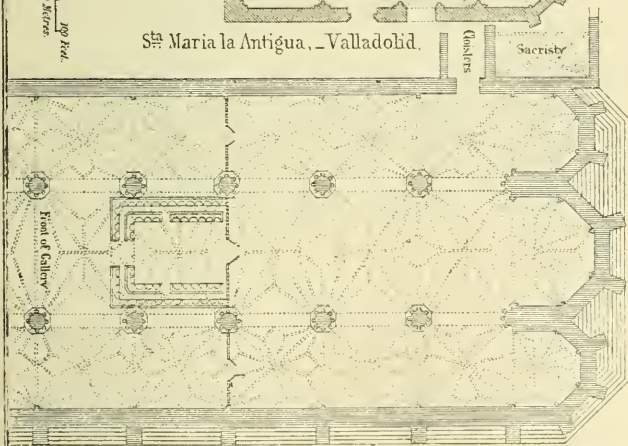
San Miguel, — Palencia.

Before 1200
13th Century
14th Century
17th & 18th Cent.
Modern

11
10
9
8
7
6
5
4
3
2
1
0
10
20
30
40
50
60
70
80
90
100
Feet.



S^t. Maria la Antigua, — Valladolid.



San Benito, — Valladolid.

of interest, the best being a fine gilt monstrance, covered with crockets and pinnacles, but not earlier than *circa* A.D. 1500.¹

The sacristan thought much more of a great plated temple, six or eight feet in height, raised on a stage, and travelling on wheels worked by a couple of men concealed within the platform and its hangings, which is used for processions throughout the town on Corpus Christi day (3).

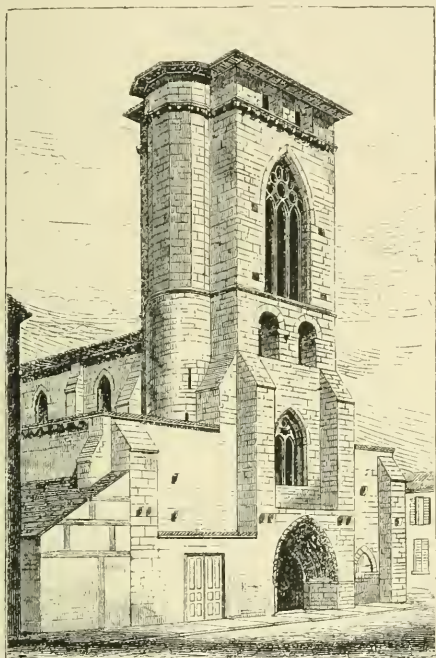
I saw only two Gothic churches out of many which I looked into in Palencia—those of San Miguel and San Francisco.

San Miguel is both the earliest and best church in the city, and deserves most careful study. I give an illustration of its ground-plan on Plate III. The portion east of the crossing appeared to me of the end of the twelfth century, and the rest of the church a few years later. The plan is one of a not uncommon type, and suggestive either of Italian or German influence in the mind of its designer. The regular planning of the whole work, the bold dimensions of the groining shafts, and the good character of the mouldings and windows, corbel-tables and buttresses, all deserve special notice. The apse is groined in four compartments, so that a rib and buttress occur in its centre,² and the ribs here are square and plain in section, whilst those throughout the nave are well moulded. The bosses at the intersection of the groining ribs in the nave are sculptured: that on the east bay having S. Michael and the Dragon, whilst the next bay but one has an Agnus Dei. There is a peculiarity in the finish of the buttresses of the apse, which I noticed also at San Juan and San Pablo at Burgos. In all of them the face of the buttress is carried up to the eaves-cornice, which is returned round them, instead of being carried on to their centre, as is usual: so that at San Miguel, in place of the apse at the cornice-line having four sides only, it has four long and three shorter sides, the latter above the buttresses. All the work in the chancel appears to be of earlier date than that in the nave, and its western arch is segmental, and of poor character. The windows here are plain, round-arched lancets, but those in the clerestory of the nave are two-light windows, with a plain circle in the head, and richly moulded. The most striking architectural feature on the outside is the western steeple, which well deserves illustration, being full of peculiarity and vigour. The

¹ The stained glass which once adorned the church was executed by Diego de Salcedo in 1542, at the price of 100 maravedis each palm (*cada palmo*).—Cean Bermudez, *Dicc. Hist.* vol. iv. p. 394.

² This rare arrangement is seen in the church of the Frari at Venice, and in the church of the Capuchins at Lugo.

belfry-windows are singularly varied, for they are of three lights on the west, of two very wide lights on the south, and of two narrow lights on the east side. The tracery in all consists of uncusped circles, packed together in the same fashion as in the clerestory of Burgos Cathedral. The west window is of two lights, with simple piercings in the tympanum, and between it



STEEPLE OF SAN MIGUEL.

and the west doorway are a number of corbels all across the west front, which seem to prove that there was a penthouse roof across the whole of it. This must have largely added to the picturesqueness of the building, whilst at the same time it must, in such a climate, have been a most wise expedient for sheltering the doorway from the heat. The west doorway is a really fine work, but terribly mutilated. It has six series of subjects, in as many lines of archivolt moulding, the innermost order containing angels only: the second, figures with books or instruments of

music: the third, angels again: the fourth, the Resurrection (with the Last Judgment, occupying the centre of this and the next order): the fifth and sixth, subjects from the life of our Lord, beginning with the Annunciation on the left (4). The outside moulding consists of a bold bowtell, with another arranged in continuous cusping in front of it, as in some of our own transitional work. The lower stage of the tower has a groined gallery, in which are the stalls, lectern, and organ.

It is much to be lamented that the finish of the steeple is not original, for we should then have had a complete example of a fine parish church, which must have been building from *circa* A.D. 1190 to *circa* A.D. 1250; but an early building unaltered on the exterior is a treat for which one generally sighs in vain in Spain.

San Francisco has been much more mutilated than San Miguel, but seems to be a work of about the same age; it is said to have been built in A.D. 1246.¹ There is a large open market-place, busy with venders of vegetables, in front of the building, and a small enclosed courtyard between the two seemed to be the receptacle for all the market filth. The west front has a small sort of cloister in front of the doors, with a tiled lean-to roof above it. Over this roof rises the west front, a strange combination with a western gable, and a great bell-gable rising out of its southern slope. The west window appears to have been a fine cusped circular opening, under a pointed arch, the spandrel between the two being filled with circles similar to the traceries in the steeple of San Miguel. Entering the church, I found its broad aisleless nave completely Paganised, but still retaining the low fifteenth-century gallery for the Coro over the two western bays. At the east bay of the nave are small transeptal chapels, and the chancel arch, and two smaller arches open into the chancel and two chancel aisles (5). The whole arrangement is thoroughly Italian,² but the detail of the arches, which are well moulded and adorned with a chevron, is northern. The chancel is apsidal, but its groining is so late, and its east end so far hidden by a Pagan Retablo, that it was impossible to discover whether any traces of the original work remained.

I saw several other churches, but their old features are in all cases of the very latest Gothic or else Pagan, so as to be hardly

¹ Madoz, *Dicc. de España*.

² It should be compared, for instance, with the church of the Eremitan at Padua, and the church of San Fermo Maggiore at Verona.

worthy of record. Sta. Clara appears to be desecrated: it has windows just like those of San Pablo, Burgos, and buttresses to the apse managed in the same way as at San Miguel. It has also a large flamboyant door of poor style (6). Near it is another church (7), which has an apse with buttresses and pinnacles at the angles, and from the even and undisturbed look of its masonry I concluded that it never had any windows. This church has a poor tower, but generally the churches here have enormous bell-gable turrets of the most flaunting Renaissance device, which are common throughout a great part of Spain. They have generally several bells hung in openings in the wall, and are often nearly the whole width of the front, and finished with cornices and broken pediments in the most approved fashion of the worst style of Renaissance.

Everywhere, save in the long main street, Palencia was as *triste* a place as I have seen. The streets were emptied, probably by the heat of the day, and, save a curious crowd of boys who pursued me relentlessly all round San Miguel, I saw few signs of life. Much of the old wall round the city remains, and walking round the north-eastern part of this, I came to a picturesque angle, where is an old walled-up gateway with pointed arch, round towers on either side, and deep machicolations above, which may well have been built before the Cid rode into Palencia for his marriage with Doña Ximena. The town walls are lofty and massive, and crested with what is, I believe, a Moorish battlement. Its peculiarity consists in the battlements and spaces between them being equal, and the former being capped with a stone weathered on all four sides nearly to a point (8).

On the way to the railway station we saw two churches (9), both having some portions of fair fifteenth-century work; and then passing the old wall, found ourselves on the melancholy open plain that surrounds the city. Under the hot sun, and after the harvest has all been gathered in, the country looks wretched and arid in the extreme. Not a tree is to be seen, nor a blade of grass; but first a sandy plain of two or three miles, and then rocky and sandy hills, all bleached to much the same colourless tint, rose in long lines against the deep-blue sky. On the other side of the city the river was hardly more attractive; it was well-nigh dry, though it is true there were some trees near its banks which to some extent redeemed the aridness of the soil out of which they grew. As I neared the station I found the whole city assembled to greet the Duke

and Duchess of Montpensier, who were to stop for a few minutes to enjoy *azucarillos* and sweetmeats. Officers of all grades, the bishop and his clergy, and smart people in abundance were there; and as soon as the train arrived there was lusty cheering, and great firing of rockets. After a fight with the mob for a passage to the train, we secured seats, and were soon off. There are some parts of the road which seemed more interesting than most of the country we had been passing. The river runs here and there under steepish bluffs, and occasionally considerable vineyards give—what is so much wanted—some variety of colour to the landscape. I suppose one ought to be cautious in describing such a country after seeing it in September; for I can well imagine that in the spring, when the whole land is covered with great crops of corn, the impression it produces may be very different (10).

At Valladolid we were delayed a long time whilst the Duke and Duchess of Montpensier, saluted again with rockets, and escorted by cavalry, took their departure from the station to pass the night at the Captain-General's. As far as a stranger can see and hear the truth, the royal family seem to be very popular in Spain, and none of them more so than the Duke and Duchess; and the good people of Valladolid did their best, by illuminations, cheering, and decoration of their houses with coloured cloth, to welcome their coming, and speed their parting the next day.¹

In the evening I strolled out into the town, and presently found myself in the Great Plaza, an imposing square surrounded on three sides by houses on arcades, and having on the fourth side the Town-hall. This was brilliantly illuminated by a number of enormous wax-candles in great sconces flaring in the air, whilst a good military band played waltzes, and the people—soldiers and civilians, men, women, and children—danced merrily and vigorously in groups all about. Presently crossing the Plaza from this noisy scene, I stumbled over a bundle on the ground, and found it to be a couple of labourers who, having been at work at the pavement, had made a bed of sand, covered themselves over with a blanket, and had gone to sleep by the side of their tools for the night, indifferent to all the noise and excitement of the place!

Valladolid is a city of which I have very pleasant general

¹ We put up at the Fonda de Paris, in the Plaza Sta. Ana—a good inn, kept by some natives of Bellinzona, who took a good deal of trouble for me, and whose hotel may safely be recommended.

recollections, but of which nevertheless the architecture is nowhere of very great interest. It has the misfortune to have a cathedral built by Herrera, only one or two early works, several gorgeous examples of the richest late-pointed work, and a multitude of examples of the works of Berruguete, Herrera, and their followers. But the streets are picturesque and busy, and have that unmistakably foreign aspect which is always so pleasant to the traveller.

I need say but little of the Cathedral. Its design is said to be the greatest work of Herrera (A.D. 1585); but a small portion only of it has been completed. The complete plan is given by Ponz.¹ It was to have been cruciform, with four towers at the angles, four bays of nave, and four of choir, with aisles to both. The stalls of the Coro were intended to be in the choir behind the altar. There is a large cloister on the north side of the nave. The nave of four bays, with its aisles and chapels on either side of them, is all that is completed; and, large as it is, the parts are all so colossal that there is not the impression of size that there ought to be. The piers are some 60 feet from centre to centre north and south, and 45 feet east and west; they carry bold arches, above which runs a great cornice surmounted by a white (plastered and panelled) groined ceiling, which contrasts violently with the dark sombre grey of the stonework below. These vaults are of red tile; and if the plaster were altogether taken off, the vault covered with mosaic, and the mouldings of the cornices carefully removed, the interior would really be fine and impressive. Nothing, however, could ever cure the hideous unsightliness of the exterior. Herrera's west front was revised by Churriguera in the eighteenth century, and cannot, therefore, be fairly criticised; but the side elevation remains as Herrera designed it, and is really valuable as a warning. Flying buttresses were, of course, an abomination; so in their place he erected enormous solid buttresses above the aisles to resist the thrust of the nave vault. They are shapeless blocks of masonry projecting about forty feet from the clerestory wall, and finished with a horrid concave line at the top. However, it is only right to give Herrera his due, and to say that after all he only did what Wren did at St. Paul's, but had the courage and the honesty to let his deeds be seen, instead of spending a vast sum, like Wren, in concealing them. And again it is plain that he thought much more of the internal effect of his church than of the external;—how unlike ourselves,

¹ *Viage de España*, xi. 38.

who but too often, if we can attract men to our new churches by a smart spire or a picturesque exterior, seem to forget that we must make the interior noble, winning, solemn, and instructive too, if we would keep them there!

A few fragments of the old cathedral remain to the north-east of the present church, but I could not obtain access to them; and I think nothing now exists but a wall pierced with one or two fourteenth-century windows.

Sta. Maria la Antigua—the most attractive church, to my mind, in Valladolid—is close to the cathedral. It is so valuable



CLOISTER. LA ANTIGUA, VALLADOLID

an example, and illustrates so well some peculiarities of Spanish architecture, that I give an illustration of its ground-plan.¹ It is of the common parallel-triapsal arrangement, and has a fine western steeple, and a cloister along the north wall. This kind of cloister is of not unfrequent occurrence: I have already noticed one in the convent at Las Huelgas; and there are two or three churches at Segovia in which also it is introduced. It would seem to be an arrangement expressly adopted to suit a tropical climate, and its effect is always very good.

The cloister here is walled up, and considerably defaced on the north side; and on the south, if one ever existed, it has been entirely destroyed. That on the north side is of three bays in length, the western bay having four arches, and the others five. The arches are semi-circular, with labels enriched with dog-tooth ornament, and the shafts which carry them are moulded and wrought in imitation of the coupled columns of early Italian artists. Simple buttresses separate the bays, and there is a corbel-table under the eaves. A bold round-arched doorway opened at the west into this cloister.

The interior of this church is fine. It is groined throughout;

¹ Plate III., p. 73.

and most of the groining has longitudinal (but not transverse) ridge-ribs, considerably arched in each bay, to suit the domical section of the vaults. The western bay has the usual late gallery for the Coro supported on a debased arch, and with open tracery in its front, and the stalls and organ still remain in it. The main columns are cylindrical in plan, and each surrounded by eight attached shafts. The transepts are not at all defined in the ground-plan, but are groined at the same level as the nave. The abaci of the capitals are either square or octagonal in plan. The groining has bold and well-moulded transverse arches, and diagonal ribs of an ordinary thirteenth-century section. In the apse of seven bays the vaults, for the greater part of their height, are no thicker than the moulding of their ribs, and are pierced with cusped circles in their spandrels, just above the line of the springing of the windows, in the same manner as at Palencia Cathedral. The clerestory seems to have been lighted with simple lancets, of which one only remains on the south of the nave. Of the old furniture still existing I noticed a good Retablo, partly carved and partly painted, in a chapel on the south side of the choir, and another in the baptistery opening into the south transept.¹ The steeple is the most remarkable feature of the exterior, and from its great height gives, in company with the similar steeple of San Martin, much effect to many views of the city, which, with these exceptions, has nothing to break its monotony. It rises three stages above the roof, the lower stage having an arcaded window of two lights on each face, the middle one of three lights, and the upper, again, one of two lights. The arches are all semi-circular, and are carried upon shafts. There are string-courses under each window, and the abaci are also carried round the steeple as string-courses of inferior scale. There are nook-shafts at the angles, with caps and bases between each of the horizontal string-courses. The upper string-course and the eaves-cornices are carved with a dog-tooth ornament, and the others with a billet mould. The steeple is finished with a low square spire, covered with tiles, some green and some red, and each tile

¹ The Retablo of the high altar is (except the figure of the Blessed Virgin) a work of Juan de Juni (*circa* A.D. 1556-83). He had studied under Michael Angelo, and was either an Italian or a Fleming. I am sorry to differ from Mr. Ford as to the merits of this artist; but I must say that I never saw figures so violently twisted and distorted, so affected and unnatural, or coloured decorations so gaudy and contemptible as those in which he indulged. At the same time, his works are so characteristic of his period and school as to deserve examination, even if they provoke contempt.

made of a pointed shape, so as to form a series of scallops. This steeple is of the same date as the cloister and lower part of the church—probably *circa* A.D. 1180–1200; but the east end of the church is evidently a work of later date, being much more advanced in style, and corresponding exactly in some respects with the upper part of the transepts and clerestory of Burgos Cathedral. The windows have three engaged jamb-shafts, with square capitals. The tracery has soffit-cusping, and there is a peculiarity here which is seen also in the clerestory at Burgos. The arches of the lights and the circle above them are only chamfered on one side, and their fillets do not mitre at the junction; it looks, consequently, as though the circle were merely put in loosely on the back of the arched heads to the lights, without being in any way connected with them. I need not say that the effect is not good: it has the appearance of being the work of men who did not quite understand what they were about; and, though I know of no example of the same thing in England or France, it is not uncommonly seen in the thirteenth and fourteenth century works of the Italian architects. It is, however, impossible to charge the architect of this apse with the indifference to, or ignorance of, other examples of the same age which marked the Italians, for in every other respect his work is as good as possible of its kind. The pinnacles marking the junction of the apse with the choir are very fine. They are hexagonal below, but, with admirable effect, are covered with circular stone spires, enriched by delicate crockets of the same fashion as those at Burgos, illustrated at p. 29, and the springing of the spirelet is marked by small pinnacles. The external roofs have been altered in accordance with the invariable custom, and at the east end they now partially obscure the old pierced parapets which fill the spaces between the pinnacles of the apse. The south transept had a rose-window, which is now blocked up, and the open parapet of the choir was continued round it. This side of the church is now much built against, and concealed by houses, the north side being quite open. I ought not to forget that there is a good sacristy at the north-east angle of the church, and of the same date as the choir (11).

Sagrador y Vitores¹ says that this church was founded by Don Pedro Ansures and Doña Eylo his wife, in the latter part of the eleventh century, and rebuilt by King Don Alonso XI. I confess I cannot reconcile these dates (for which no author-

¹ *Historia de Valladolid*, ii. 181.

ities are given) with the existing building. The earlier portions of the work hardly seem to be so early in date as the eleventh century; and the later alterations are so identical in character with work of which we know the age in the thirteenth century that it is almost impossible they should belong to the time of Alonso XI. (A.D. 1350-69). The reign of Alonso IX. (A.D. 1230-44) would have been a more likely date (12).

The church of San Martin, near Sta. Maria, has been rebuilt (13), with the exception only of its steeple, which is a fine example, very similar to that of Sta. Maria, though, no doubt, of rather later date. The arches here are pointed, in place of round, as they are in the other example; the two upper stages are arranged just as they are there, and the lower stage has a two-light window, with its tracery contrived in a similar way to the apse windows of that church. San Martin is said to have been founded in A.D. 1148,¹ and the earliest part of the steeple may probably be of this age, though I do not think it can have been completed earlier than about A.D. 1250.

Both these steeples bear unmistakable marks of Lombard influence. The absence of buttresses, the repetition of very nearly similar stages one over the other, and the multitude of horizontal string-courses, are all features of constant occurrence in Italy; and it will be sufficient to mention such an example as the steeple of Lucca Cathedral, as, among others, illustrating this similarity very remarkably.

There is not, so far as I could see or learn, any other work of early date in Valladolid; but, on the other hand, the city is rich in works of the latest Gothic, some of which are exceedingly sumptuous, and among the finest of their kind; and they are so characteristic of Spanish art—albeit they are undoubtedly derived from German sources—that it would be unpardonable to pass them by without notice. At the same time it is luxury of ornamentation, profusion of labour, marvellous manual skill and dexterity, rather than real art, which we see displayed in all the works of this school; and, attractive as these often are to the uneducated eye, they are almost offensive to one who has learnt ever so little to look for true art first and above all in all works of architecture, and to regard mere excellence of workmanship as of altogether secondary importance.

The most remarkable of these works are the churches of San Pablo, San Benito, La Magdalena, and the colleges of San Gregorio and Sta. Cruz, which last is now converted into a

¹ Sagrador y Vitores, *Hist. de Valladolid*, ii. 186.

museum. Their dates are all known very exactly, and the following facts relating to them may as well be recorded.

San Pablo was commenced by Cardinal Don Juan Torquemada, and completed in A.D. 1463.¹ It is said by some to be the work of Juan and Simon de Colonia, but I can find no proof of this statement, though I think that the elaborate façade may possibly be the work of the artists Gil de Siloe or Diego de la Cruz, who wrought under Juan de Colonia and his son at the monuments and Retablo in the convent at Miraflores.

The first stone of the college of San Gregorio was laid in A.D. 1488, and it was finished in A.D. 1496.² The architect is said to have been Macías Carpintero of Medina del Campo; but as he cut his own throat in 1490,³ some other architect or sculptor must have completed the work.

The monastery of San Benito was founded by King Don Juan, who obtained a Bull from Pope Clement VII., on Dec. 28, 1389, for the purpose. But the existing church was erected more than a century later, by Juan de Arandia (probably a Biscayan architect), who began his work in A.D. 1499. He agreed to execute the nave and one aisle for 1,460,000 maravedis, and afterwards the other aisle for 500,000. The Retablo and the stalls were the work of Berruguete, between A.D. 1526 and 1532, and are now preserved in the museum.

The college of Sta. Cruz was founded in A.D. 1480, and completed in A.D. 1492, and was designed by Enrique de Egas,⁴ son of Anequin de Egas of Brussels.

The church of La Magdalena appears, by extracts from the archives of the Marquis de Resilla, to have been planned by Rodrigo Gil, of Salamanca. By a contract, dated June 14, 1576, he undertook the erection of the Capilla mayor and sacristy for 4,000,000 maravedis, whilst the "master of the works," Francisco del Rio, by an agreement of October 11, 1570, agreed to build the tower and body of the church according to Rodrigo Gil's plan, for 6400 ducats.

Having given these details of their history, I must now say a few words about the buildings themselves.

Going from the great Plaza de la Constitucion down a narrow

¹ Cean Bermudez, *Arg. de Esp.* i. 109.

² Sagrador y Vitores, *Hist. de Valladolid*, ii. 263-268.

³ Cean Bermudez, *Arg. de Esp.* i. 128.

⁴ Enrique de Egas built the Hospital of Sta. Cruz, at Toledo, between 1504 and 1514. His work at Valladolid is still half Gothic; a few years later, at Toledo, it is completely Renaissance in style. It is seldom that we can trace this radical change of style in the work of the same man.

street to the north, we soon came out on another large irregular open place, frequented chiefly by second-hand clothesmen, whose wares would be deemed bad even in Houndsditch, and whose wont it seems to be to induce their customers to make complete changes of their apparel behind scanty screenworks of cloths. At the angle of the further side of this Plaza is the grand church and convent of San Benito (14). The monks are, of course, all gone, as they are everywhere in Catholic Spain, and the convent is turned into a barrack: the church is left open, but unused, and the more valuable portions of its furniture, its stalls and Retablos, have been carried away for exhibition in another religious house, now used as a museum! Valladolid seems to have been a city of religious houses; and when the revolution, following on civil wars, made so clean a sweep of religious orders, that not only does one see no monks, but even Sisters of Mercy are scarcely ever met,¹ there was nothing, I suppose, to be done but to convert these buildings to the first miserable purpose that suggested itself; and we ought perhaps to be thankful when we find a church like San Benito simply desolate and unused, and not converted to some purely secular use.

The ground-plan of the church is given on Plate III. (p. 73). At the west end are the remains of a tower, which seems never to have been completed, and which, though of vast size, is so poor, tame, and bald in detail, that it could hardly have produced a successful effect if it had been finished. The whole design of the exterior of the church is extremely uninteresting; but the interior is much more impressive, being fine, lofty, and groined, and lighted chiefly by large clerestory windows, aided by others high up in the aisle-walls. The groining is all very domical in section, and rather rich in ribs; and the grand scale of the whole work, and the simplicity of the piers—cylinders with eight engaged shafts round them—contribute to produce something of the effect of a building of earlier date. The bases of the columns are of enormous height from the floor, and their caps are generally carved with stiff foliage. Several altars, monuments, and chapels have been inserted between the buttresses of the north wall; and there is one old tomb on the north side of the high altar, with a sculpture of the Crucifixion. The buttresses on the exterior all rise out of a continuous weathered basement, and there is no variety in their design in any part.

¹ Little meets the eye, but still I have had several new establishments of regular clergy pointed out to me, and the Church in Spain is already, no doubt, regaining something of what she has lost in revolutions and wars (15).

The ritual arrangements deserve a few words of description. There are six steps up from the nave to the altar, and there is an ambon on each side of them entered from the altar side. There is a stalled western gallery, with an organ on its south side, of late mediæval design, but apparently an insertion, and not erected at the same time as the Coro. Beside the gallery Coro, there is a second Coro on the floor, with screens round it on the north, south, and west sides, which are evidently not original, being mere brick walls. A metal screen extends all across the nave and aisles at the east of the Coro; and there are gates, not only in these, but also in the screen on the west side of the Coro, which, it will be remembered, is an unusual arrangement at this late date. The large organ is on the north side of the Coro, and of the same date as the woodwork of the stalls. The good people of Valladolid, who seem to feel inordinately proud of all that Berruguete did, have carried off the stalls to the museum. They are much praised by Mr. Ford, but for what reason I endeavoured in vain to discover. Their sculpture appeared to me to be contemptible, and mainly noticeable for woolly dumplings in place of draperies, and for the way in which the figures are sculptured, standing insecurely on their feet, dwarfed in stature, altogether inexpressive in their faces, out of drawing, and wholly deficient in energy or life. There were also three great Retablos to the principal altars at the ends of the aisles. The Renaissance frames of these are mostly *in situ*, but the sculptures have all been taken, with the stalls, to the museum, where they cumber the little chapel in the most uncouth fashion. I never saw such contemptible work; yet Mr. Ford calls this work¹ "the *chef-d'œuvre* of Berruguete, *circa* 1526-32." I can only say that the architecture is bad, the sculpture is bad, and the detail is bad; that all three are bad of their kind, and that their kind is the worst possible.² It is in truth the ugliest specimen of the imbecility and conceit which usually characterise inferior Renaissance work that I ever saw. The whole of the figures are strained and distorted in the most violent way, and fenced in by columns which look like bed-posts, with entablatures planned in all sorts of new and original ways and angles. I have no patience with such work, and it is inconceivable how a man who has once done anything which,

¹ *Handbook of Spain*, ii. 572.

² Berruguete was not dissatisfied with his work. In a letter from him to Andrés de Nájera (given by Sagrador y Vitores in his *History of Valladolid*, ii. 257) he expresses his own extreme satisfaction in the most unreserved way.

from almost every point of view, is so demonstrably bad, can have preserved any reputation whatever, even among his own people. It is a curious illustration, however, of the singular extent to which both Gothic and Renaissance were being wrought at the same time in Spain; for at the time he did this work, in which not a trace of Gothic feeling or skill remained, other men at Salamanca, Zaragoza, and elsewhere, were still building in late Gothic, and some buildings were still more than half Gothic which were not erected for at least fifty years later.

A short walk from San Benito leads to another Plaza, on one of which is the west front of San Pablo, whilst the great convent of San Gregorio is on its south side (16).

I could not find any means of getting into San Pablo (17), and am uncertain whether it is in use or desecrated. Its façade is a repetition, on a large scale, of work like that of Juan and Simon de Colonia—who are said to have been the architects employed—in the chapel monuments at Miraflores. Armorial bearings have much more than their due prominence, mouldings are attenuated, every bit of wall is covered with carving or tracery, and such tricks are played with arches of all shapes, that, though they are ingenious, they are hardly worth describing. The western doorway is fringed with kneeling angels for crockets, and there are large and small statues of saints against the wall on either side of it. Above is the Coronation of the Blessed Virgin, with S. John the Baptist on one side, and the kneeling founder on the other, flanked by angels carrying armorial achievements. Above, in the centre, is our Lord seated, S. Peter and S. Paul on either side, and the four Evangelists seated at desks, and instructed by angels. Every vacant space seems to have a couple of angels holding coats-of-arms, so that it is impossible not to feel that the sculptor and the founder must have had some idea of heaven as peopled by none with less than a proper number of quarterings on their shields, or without claim to the possession of *Sangre Azul*. I must not forget to say of this work that, though its scheme is displeasing and Retablo-like, its execution is wonderful, and the merit of the detail of many parts of it very great.

The façade of San Gregorio is a long lofty wall, pierced with small ogee-headed windows, and finished with a quaint, carved, and pinnacled parapet; in the centre is the entrance gateway, corresponding pretty much in its detail with the front of San Pablo, but even more extremely heraldic in its decorations. The doorway is a square opening under a segmental arch, with

an oggee-trefoiled canopy above. Full-length statues of hairy unclad savages on either side may have a meaning which I failed to discover; to me they looked simply uncouth and rude. The canopy over the doorway runs up and forms a great heraldic tree, with an enormous coat-of-arms and supporters in the centre. The finish at the top is one of those open-work conceits of interlacing pierced cusping, which looks like nothing better than a collection of twigs.

The sculpture on this doorway is altogether inferior in its character to that of the doorway of San Pablo. The convent is now, I believe, a barrack, and the sentry refused me admission; but I saw a picturesque court open in the centre, with the usual galleries round it, supported on columns, the wooden ceiling of the passage being painted (18).

The church of la Magdalena does not look so late in date as the documentary evidence seems to prove that it is; but it is late enough to be most uninteresting. The west front is the *ne plus ultra* of heraldic absurdity, being entirely occupied with an enormous coat-of-arms and its adjuncts.

Close to the east end of this church is a Moorish archway of brick, a picturesque and rather graceful work (19). It owes not a little of its effect to the shape of the bricks, which are 7 in. wide by 11 in. long by $1\frac{1}{2}$ in. thick, and to the enormous quantity of mortar used, the joints being not less than an inch wide.¹ The ruggedness and picturesque effect of work done in this way is much greater than that of the smooth, neat walls—badly built of necessity where there is not much mortar used—of our modern buildings.

The Museum is housed in the old college of Sta. Cruz, close to the University, and near to the Cathedral. It is a building of a class whose name is legion in these parts. It encloses a central court surrounded by cloisters, above which there are open arcades all round on each of the three floors, traceried balustrades occupying the spaces between their columns, and the rooms being all entered from these cloister-like open passages. With good detail such an arrangement might easily be made very attractive; but I saw no example in any but the very latest style of Gothic. The contents of the Museum are most uninteresting. There are three paintings said to be by Rubens, but they seemed to me to have been much damaged; and the rest

¹ The remarkable brick buildings of Toulouse and its neighbourhood are similarly constructed; so, too, are those not less remarkable works at Lübeck and elsewhere in the north of Germany.

of the pictures are unmixed rubbish. There is a large collection of figures and subjects from sculptured Retablos, all of which are extravagant and strained in their attitudes to the most painful degree. I have already referred to some of Berruguete's work preserved here, and the rest is mostly of about the same low degree of merit (20).

The Library, which appeared to have many valuable books, is a large room, well kept and well filled, with a librarian very ready to show it to strangers.

The University is a cold work of Herrera—the coldest of Spanish architects. Mr. Ford mentions an old gateway in it; but I could not find it (21).

I spent one day only in Valladolid; but this is ample for seeing all its architectural features. It is one of those cities which was too rich and prosperous during an age of much work and little taste, and where, though Berruguete and Herrera may be studied by those who think such labour desirable, very little mediæval architecture of any real value is to be seen. Yet as a modern city it is in parts gay and attractive, being after Madrid the most important city of the North of Spain. Its suburbs are less cheerful, for here one lights constantly on some desecrated church or ruined building, which recalls to mind the vast difference between the Valladolid of to-day—a mere provincial town—and the Valladolid of two centuries ago, for a short time the capital of Spain.

NOTES

(1) Señor Lampérez gives some fresh matter, showing a change of plan, which explains all that Street found unsatisfactory. It may be summarised thus: the crypt is Visigothic; the church was begun in 1321 by Bishop John II., and 1424 is the date of the vaults of apse and chapels, of the first bay westward and the second bay of aisles, Isabrante being the master of the works and getting so far as to build a kind of transept just west of the apse. After 1424 came the idea of making something bigger, with a new transept. All the last part was begun before 1450. The transept portals were done in the time of Bishop Alonso of Burgos (1485-9); by 1516 were finished the vaults, cloister, and chapter-room.

(2) The cloisters are now all built up.

(3) The cathedral possesses a number of good early paintings and retables. Since a fine early painting (as I learn from a gentleman of Palencia) was quietly sold not long ago by the chapter, it may be worth setting down a list of those still in position. On the south

pier of the apse a bishop and donor; east of the *parroquia* a Magdalen borne up to heaven; and against the south side of the coro a wreck of a beautiful triptych of the Visitation and SS. Andrew and Lawrence with a donor, in the wings SS. Stephen and John Baptist. The Madonna is heavy, but the S. Elizabeth has a beautiful thin Spanish face and old knotted hands. A lovely Flemish triptych on the *trascoro*, by Juan de Holanda, has an unusual treatment for the central panel, of the Madonna Dolorosa supported by S. John. The best of the carved retables are:—at the altar mayor and in the old apse chapel; in the first ambulatory chapels, both north and south; in that just north of the Lady Chapel, a French-looking Madonna; in the chapel next to it, S. Roch and S. Anne, under shrines at the two sides, and behind a sad statue and gilt glory, in the centre, apparently three good paintings and two reliefs; in the next to last chapel of the north aisle a fine altar piece. I have not succeeded in finding out about any of these, except in that 1505 Alejo de Vahia modelled the SS. John and Mary Magdalen of the "great retable," and in 1522 Pedro de Guadalupe and Pedro Manso made the retable of the *capilla de las curas*, i.e., the original Capilla Mayor, now the *parroquia*. The former of these, dedicated to S. Antolin, is better than most things of the sort, with much blue and scarlet in the painting, which goes well with the carving of gold and dun.

(4) The sculptures of this portal are far more ruined now.

(5) In San Francisco the west window has been restored with a regular wheel-window of sixteen cusped arches; at the east end I found a narrow transept with doorways north and south, and a central apse of two bays opening into two smaller side apses. The cloister across the front has much grace; a barrel-vault of four bays rests on great arches, between which pairs of arches are carried on coupled shafts; the spacing, mouldings, and capitals all good. Outside, a little nun's garden, full of cabbage roses and white lilies, runs up to a square, trim enough, with green benches and round acacias, evergreens and japonicas, proof against snow and sun. As in so many Spanish towns, the market has been moved to a horrible iron erection around the corner—as great a blot on the town as gas-works could be.

(6) Santa Clara, however, has a fine flamboyant window over the door and just below the roof a curious series of pierced stone grilles which must be inherited from the Moors, replacing the usual wooden lattice at the top of a convent. Founded in 1378 by the Admiral of Castile, Don Alfonso Enriquez, and his wife, Doña Juana de Mendoza, it is strict Spanish Gothic of the fourteenth century, before the German and Burgundian invasion. The plan is a Greek cross, like Spanish churches of the seventh to the tenth century, and the bays which fill up the corners of the cross are vaulted at a lower level. The three parallel apses are polygonal and the traceries and ornaments are far more vigorous than French flamboyant. The church may be entered at all hours by going through a gate to the east of the apses, past these and through a very humble court and convent porch, where good wives gossip at the turning-box, around to a door in the south transept.

(7) S. Lazarus, closed.

(8) Walls and gates, though described in *España* as late as 1885, are all gone.

(9) One of these is San Pablo, the other I could not identify, though there are churches enough in Valencia. I was sorry not to stay long enough to visit San Martin de Fromistá, 1066, which Señor Lampérez mentions as one of the earliest examples of French Romanesque in Castile, with three apses and a lantern. It looks very perfect in style, though it has lately been restored.

(10) *San Juan de Baños*. Venta de Baños is the junction for anywhere in northern Spain, and the station restaurant is good, and so are the beds above stairs; but merely between trains it is possible to visit the little village of Baños, out in the plain, half an hour's walk away. San Juan de Baños, on the opposite edge of the village, is indisputably Visigothic, built by Recesivintho, 661. It has a nave and aisles divided by four horse-shoe arches on columns, with a clerestory high up, and sloping timber roofs. The openings of the clerestory, the ajimez window in the west gable, and that in the central apse, are filled with pierced stone tracery. Of the three parallel apses, square at the east, the central one has a great barrel vault, those at the sides quadripartite; on the outer walls of these remain plain marks of the springing of other barrel vaults to northward and southward. The apses and the deep western porch show the horse-shoe arch, the capitals are a crude modification of the acanthus. The problems here are many, and the recent restoration has not helped them. Was the original church a five-aisled basilica with five parallel apses, and if so how did the intermediate ones get their vaults? Or were the three apses arranged like the prongs of a trident and the spaces filled in later? The narrow western porch is common enough in early Spanish churches of the north-west, but a portico entirely around the nave (west of an hypothetical transept) has been conjectured. M. Camille Enlart boldly says that the moulding on the north side belongs to the twelfth or thirteenth century and the church is not so old as Spaniards believe.

(11) Santa María la Antigua is undergoing restoration; the cloister has been cleared out and reveals a fine pointed door at each end; the houses on the south side are pulled down, the inside is stayed with beams and iron rods, and the sacristy is inaccessible. The retablo of the altar mayor is very bad, every one too big for his niche and doubled up to get in. The painted one in the south apse has much charm in its use of gold and scarlet and its naïve sweetness of landscape. The niche which once probably held La Antigua herself is empty, but a statue of the Madonna and Child above is still in place. In the six scenes from the early life of the Blessed Virgin, S. Anne is beautiful as an ecstatic nun. The south chapel, furthermore, keeps a battered altar-piece patched up out of several, the best panel a Madonna and Child from the early Sienese.

(12) Señor Lampérez, however, says that in the building of the fourteenth century are remains of that of the twelfth. D. José Maria Quadrado¹ says that it was begun on the same day with S. Mary

¹ *España*.

Major (the cathedral, dedicated May 21, 1095) for the *parroquia* of the palace of the count; that it was seven years old in 1088; and that Alphonso XI. re-made it, raising transepts and nave and vaulting it.

(13) In 1621.¹

(14) San Benito was locked up when I visited Valladolid, and the soldiers doing duty and loafing about the barrack gate, while civil as possible, seemed not to know where or if I could find any one to produce the keys. I never found any one.

(15) It would be hard to fancy the church more prosperous or the clergy more familiar than to-day in Spain. One consequence of this I have already touched in a note on Palencia—that the treasures, not only of early painting, but even of a master like Greco, are being sold out of Spain silently, but very fast; of another I shall have to speak when I come to the burning of S. Anthony Abbot in Barcelona, a few years ago.

(16) San Gregorio lies east of San Pablo, on a street that runs from the south side of the square.

(17) San Pablo, in use now and completely restored, has five bays of very elaborate groining, rich doorways on the inside faces of the transepts, in the style of the façade but rather better, and three parallel apses.

(18) The convent is now, apparently, used for government or municipal offices, and the two courts stand quite open. The larger one has twisted columns below, rather like those at Guadalajara and Alcalá, a fine *artesonado* ceiling to the great stair, and some charming late Gothic doorways, and windows cobwebbed over with tracery.

(19) This has been cleared away, I think, to leave the desolate open ground that lies north of La Maddalena.

(20) At present the top floor houses the Archæological Museum; at least ten early altar-pieces, or panels from such, have real interest, and some of them great charm. A Gothic retable from San Francisco de Cecera shows types and dress northern, but copied with such crude realisms as the Madonna's hair stringing down around her face, painted straight from a girl. The many scenes of a large retable of S. Jerome are still set in its original Perpendicular frame, and are enchanting for colour, humour, and action—the monk crawling under a bed on the lion's approach, the lion himself eating a leg of mutton in a corner of S. Jerome's study. A pair of later side-panels of SS. Isidore and Leander, in churches almost classical, are golden and Sevillian. Of an odd panel of S. Anthony of Padua, the donors like a Madonna with the book and the Holy Child, the donors are two brothers, one secular, the other a friar. Another friar and his mother are the donors of a S. Anne enthroned without any splendours, holding her little girl on her knee, who holds in turn a child like a Dutch doll. An inscription lettered upon the tiles of the floor baffled me, but it certainly begins, "La—mia—obra . . ." The drapery is simple, the colour flat, the flesh grey—full of character and a kind of austere beauty. As much beauty of a sort more urbane is in the figures of S. Louis of Toulouse and another bishop enthroned, one in a loggia and the other in an oriel

¹ *España*.

with windows opening on a landscape. With these may belong two pairs of saints, SS. Andrew and James, more interesting than SS. Paul and Peter, in which the landscapes are still French and the persons very Spanish. All these, from S. Anthony of Padua, are late quattrocento, of the school of Castile, and are probably from a single admirable retable. As for the sculptures on the ground floor, the sensations they arouse are as violent and uncomfortable as if one were shut up with a gigantic Punch and Judy show suddenly come to life in all its wooden and wiry frenzy.

(21) I heard from a Spaniard of a fifteenth-century gateway, but the university is re-building and I could not get to it.

CHAPTER IV

SALAMANCA—ZAMORA—BENAVENTE

THE long dreary road which leads over the corn-growing plain from Medina del Campo is at last relieved some two or three miles before Salamanca is reached by the view of its imposing group of steeples and domes, which rise gradually over the low hills on the northern side. The long line of walls (1) round the city still in part remains, but seems daily to be falling more and more to decay, and indeed generally all its grand buildings speak rather of death than of life. Few even of Spanish towns seem to have suffered more at the hands of the French during the Peninsular war than did Salamanca, and we ought not perhaps to be surprised if its old prosperity comes but slowly back again to it.

The public buildings here are generally grandiose and imposing; but almost all of them are of the period of the Renaissance, and there are no very remarkable examples of this bad age. Still when they were perfect there must have been a certain stateliness about them, befitting the importance of a great university.

The main objects of attraction to me were the two cathedrals, the one grand and new, of the sixteenth century, by whose side and as it were under whose wing nestles the smaller but most precious old cathedral of the twelfth century, fortunately preserved almost intact when the new one was erected, and still carefully maintained, though, I believe, very seldom used for service. The remarkable relative positions of these two cathedrals will be readily understood by the accompanying ground-plan,¹ in which, as will be seen, the vast bulk of the later church quite overwhelms the modest dimensions of the earlier. I know indeed few spots, if any, in which the importance, or the contrary, of mere size in architecture can be better tested than here. Most educated artists would, I dare say, agree with me in rating size as the lowest of all really artistic qualities in architecture; and here we find that the small and insignificant old church produces as good an effect as the large and boastfully ambitious

¹ Plate IV., p. 104.

new one, though its dimensions are altogether inferior. This is owing to the subdivision of parts, and to the valuable simplicity which so markedly characterises them. On the other hand, it would be wrong to forget that from another point of view mere size is of the prime importance, for we may well feel, when we compare, for instance, an extremely lofty church with one of very modest height, that in the former there is on the part of the founders an evident act of sacrifice, whilst in the latter their thoughts have possibly never risen above the merest utilitarianism; and it would be a spirit entirely dead to all religious impressions that could regard such an act of sacrifice otherwise than with extreme admiration.

The foundation of the first of these two cathedrals may be fixed, I think, with a fair approach to certainty, as being some time in the twelfth century. It was at this time, soon after the city had been regained from the Moors, in A.D. 1095, that Bernard, Archbishop of Toledo, himself a Frenchman, brought many other Frenchmen into Spain, and through his great influence procured their appointment to various sees—a fact which I may say, in passing, suggests much in regard to the origin of the churches which they built. Among the French ecclesiastics so promoted was Gerónimo Visquio,¹ a native of Périgord, who was for a long time the great friend and close companion of the Cid Rodrigo Diaz, and confessor to him and Doña Ximena his wife. On the Cid's death he brought his body from Valencia to the monastery of Cardena, near Burgos, and there dwelt till Count Ramon and Doña Urraca made him Bishop of Salamanca. Gil Gonzalez Dávila² says that at this time the church was founded, and Cean Bermudez adds some documentary evidence as to privileges conceded to its chapter for the works about this time by Count Ramon.³ In A.D. 1178 a priest—Don Miguel of San Juan, Medina del Campo—made a bequest to the Chapter of his property for the work of the cloister, and we may fairly assume, therefore, that before this date the church itself was completed. The new cathedral was not commenced until A.D. 1513, and of this I need not now speak; but in an inscription on it, which records its consecration in A.D. 1560, the first mass is related to have been said in the old cathedral four hundred and sixty years before, *i.e.* in A.D. 1100.⁴ This

¹ It is doubtful whether this surname is correct, and whether it is not old Spanish for "Vixit" in the inscription on his tomb.—Ford, *Handbook*, 521.

² *Teatro Eccl.* iii. 236-238.

³ Cean Bermudez, *Arg. de Esp.* i. 21.

⁴ G. G. Dávila, *Teat. Eccl.* iii. 344.

probably was only a tradition; but it may fairly be taken to point to the twelfth century as that in which the cathedral was built.

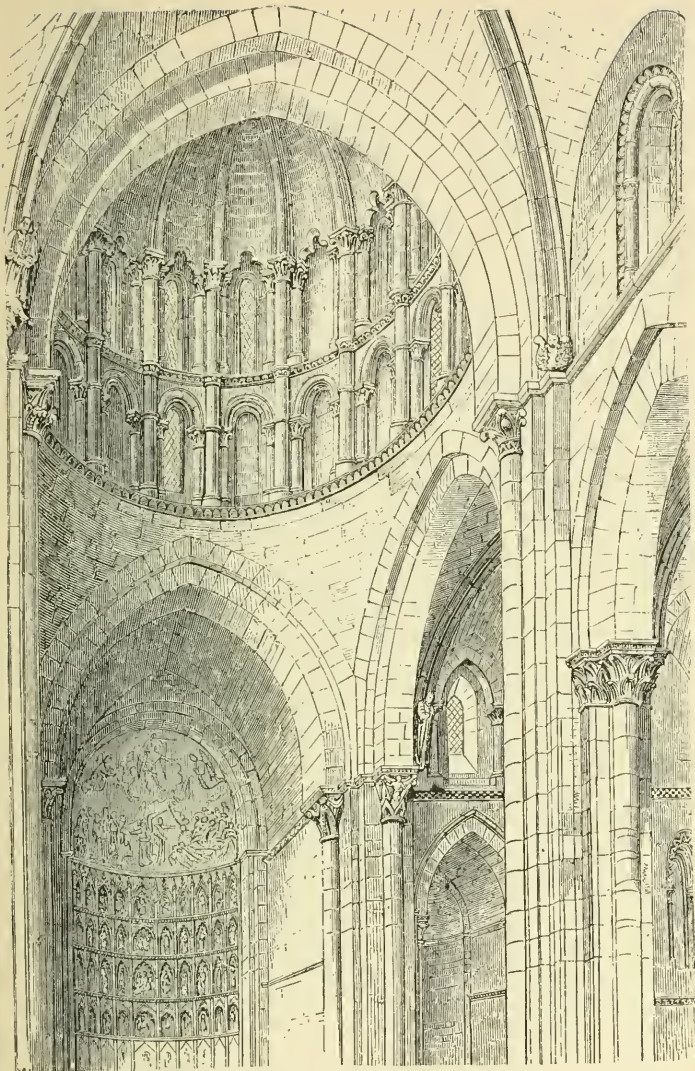
This early church is, it will be seen,¹ cruciform, with three eastern apses, a nave and aisles of five bays, and a dome or lantern over the crossing. There is a deep western porch, and I think it probable that there were originally towers on either side of this. The church has been wonderfully little altered, save that its north wall has been taken down in order to allow of the erection of the new cathedral, and at the same time the arch under the northern part of the central lantern or dome was also underbuilt. In other respects the church is almost untouched, and bears every mark of having been in progress during the greater part of the twelfth century.

There is no provision in the plan of the main piers for carrying the diagonal groining ribs, and it may be, therefore, that when they were first planned it was not intended to groin the nave. The groining-ribs are now carried on corbels, in front of which were statues, only two or three of which, however, now remain in their places.² The vaulting throughout is quadripartite in the arrangement of the ribs; but the vaults of the three western bays of the nave, of the south transept, and of the aisles are constructed as domes, with the stones all arranged in concentric lines, but with ribs crossing their undersides; the two eastern bays of the nave have quadripartite groining, planned in the common way. The apses have semi-domes. The main arches everywhere are pointed, those of the windows semi-circular, and the capitals throughout are elaborately carved, either with foliage or groups of coupled monsters or birds, a very favourite device of the early Spanish sculptors (2).

The most interesting feature in this old cathedral still remains to be mentioned: this is the dome over the crossing. The remainder of the original fabric is bold, vigorous, and massive, well justifying the line in an old saying about the Spanish cathedrals, "*Fortis Salmantina*;" but still it is merely a good example of a class of work, of which other examples on a grander scale are to be met with elsewhere. Not so, however, the dome; for here we have a rare feature treated with rare success, and, so far as I know, with complete originality. The French domed churches, such as *S. Front, Périgueux*, and others of

¹ Plate IV., p. 104.

² The statues at the angles of the lantern are of our Lord, the B. V. M., an angel, and a bishop.

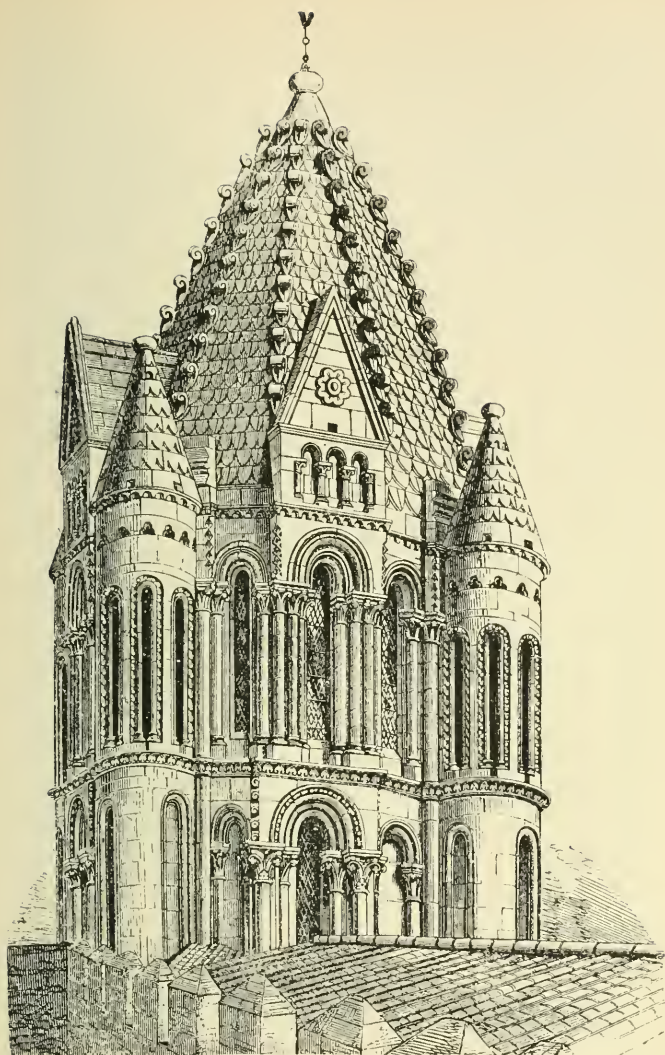


SALAMANCA OLD CATHEDRAL
INTERIOR OF LANTERN, LOOKING EAST

the same class, Notre Dame du Port, Clermont, and Notre Dame, le Puy, have, it is true, domes, but these are all commenced immediately above the pendentives or arches which carry them. The lack of light in their interiors is consequently a great defect, and those which I have seen have always seemed to me to have something dark, savage, and repulsive in their character. And it was here that the architect of Salamanca Cathedral showed his extreme skill, for, instead of the common low form of dome, he raised his upon a stage arcaded all round inside and out, pierced it with windows, and then, to resist the pressure of his vault, built against the external angles four great circular pinnacles.

The effect of his work both inside and out is admirable. It is divided into sixteen compartments by bold shafts, which carry the groining ribs; and three of these divisions over each of the cardinal sides are pierced as windows. The other four occur where the turrets on the exterior make it impossible to obtain light. These arcades form two stages in height between the pendentives and the vault. The vault is hardly to be called a real dome, having a series of ribs on its under side, nor does the external covering follow the same curve as the internal, but with admirable judgment it is raised so much as to have rather the effect of a very low spire, with a considerable entasis, than of a regular dome. The exterior angles have lines of simple and boldly contrived crockets, and the stones with which it is covered seem all to have been cut with scallops on their lower edge. The stonework of the exterior is much decayed, but otherwise the whole work stands well and firmly.

My drawings explain better than any written description can the various details of the design; but I may well call attention to the admirable treatment of the gables over the windows on the cardinal sides of the dome. No doubt they answer the same purpose as the circular turrets at the angles in providing a counterpoise to the thrust of the vault, and the change from the circular lines of the angle turrets to the sharp straight lines of these gables is among the happiest efforts of art. So again I ought to notice the contrast between the shafted windows, with their springing lines definitely and accurately marked by sculptured capitals, and the openings in the turrets, with their continuous mouldings. The value of contrast—a treasure in the hands of the real artist—is here consciously and most artistically exhibited; and it was no mean artist who could venture to make so unsparing a use of architectural ornamentation without



SALAMANCA OLD CATHEDRAL
EXTERIOR OF LANTERN

producing any sense of surfeit on those who look at his work even with the most critical eyes.

I have seldom seen any central lantern more thoroughly good and effective from every point of view than this is: it seems indeed to solve, better than the lantern of any church I have yet seen elsewhere, the question of the introduction of the dome to Gothic churches. The lofty pierced tambour, and the exquisite effect of light admitted at so great a height from the floor, are features which it is not, I believe, vain to hope we may see emulated ere long in some modern work. But in any such attempt it must be borne well in mind that, though the scale of this work is very moderate, its solidity and firmness are excessive, and that thus only is it that it maintains that dignified manliness of architectural character which so very few of our modern architects ever seem even to strive for.

From all points, too, this lantern groups admirably with the rest of the church. My sketch was taken from the west end of the nave roof, in order to show the detail of the work to a fair scale; but the best view on the whole is that from the south-east, where it groups with the fine exterior of the eastern apses, with their engaged columns and rich corbel-tables, and with a turret to the east of the transept, which has been carried up and finished rather prettily in the fourteenth century with a short spire, with spire-lights on each side of its hexagonal base.

The old corbel-tables under the eaves remain throughout the east end; but the wall has been raised above them with a line of pierced quatrefoils, over which the rough timbers of the roof project. No doubt here, as we shall find in some other examples, the original intention was to have a stone roof of rather flat pitch. The space between the eaves of the chancel and the lower windows of the lantern would admit of no more than this; and though there is a good deal of piquant effect in the line of dark pierced traceries under the eaves and the rough tiled roof above them, one cannot but regret very much the change from the original design in so important a part of the work. The eaves-cornices are carved with a very rich variety of billet moulding, and carried upon corbels, some of which are carved and some moulded. The walls generally have flat pilasters at short intervals, finishing under the eaves-cornices, and the principal apse has the common arrangement of three-quarter engaged shafts dividing it into three bays. The window-arches are boldly moulded and carved, but the lights are narrow, and those in the main apse are remarkable for the delicate intricacy of the con-

temporary iron *grilles* with which they are guarded—genuine laborious smith's work, utterly unlike the poor modern efforts with which in these days men earn fame without using their hammers! (3) The effect here of the intricate curved lines, relieved by the dark shadow of the window opening, is charming. It may fairly be doubted, I think, whether these windows were ever meant to be glazed. In the transept pointed relieving arches are built over the windows, and one of them is a good example of the joggling of the joints of stonework, not uncommonly seen in early flat arches, but the use of which is not very obvious in a high pointed arch. The smaller apses have only one window, and are lower in proportion to the principal apse than is usually the case.

There are some fine monuments (4) in the south transept, all of them adorned with elaborate bas-reliefs of scriptural subjects. One, of the thirteenth century, has a tomb supported on lions, and a death-bed represented on its side; a little apsidal recess above is groined with a semi-dome, with ribs. Another has sculptures of the Crucifixion, the Entombment, the Maries going to the Sepulchre, and the "Noli me tangere;" and a third has another representation of a death-bed. The effigies are all slightly tilted outwards, and those in the east wall have their feet to the north. The most remarkable features in the decoration of the church are, however, the Retablo and the painting on the semi-dome above it. On the vault the Last Judgment is painted, our Lord being drawn much in the famous attitude of S. Michael in Orcagna's fresco at Pisa, and without drapery. The Retablo is a work of the fourteenth century, of wood, and planned so as exactly to fit the curve of the apse wall. It is divided into five panels in height and eleven in width, so that there are fifty-five subjects, each surrounded by an architectural framework of delicate character. The subjects are all richly painted on a gold ground, and seemed to me to be well drawn (5). The coloured decoration of the whole is very effective, and owes much to the white ground of its traceries. Generally speaking, a Retablo is placed across the apse and cuts off its eastern portion, which thenceforward becomes a receptacle for all the untidiness of the church; and when so arranged, if it reaches the height common in Spain, it almost, and in some cases altogether, destroys the internal effect of the apse. Here, however, the exact fitting of the Retablo to the curve of the wall is free from this objection, and its effect is unusually good.

The cloister on the south side is almost all modernised,

though one or two old doorways remain. That into the south transept has spiral shafts, with the spiral lines reversed at regular intervals. It has also some very good carving of foliage, with birds and naked figures, and on its jambs are some memorial inscriptions of A.D. 1190, 1192, and 1194. On the south side of the cloister is a richly decorated little chapel (6), which retains in one corner a very curious mediæval organ, with shutters. On the east side and close to the transept, what was no doubt the original Chapter-house still remains, though it is now called the Mozarabic chapel, and was formerly used for the Mozarabic ritual. At present the boy who had the keys said it was not used; but the proper books were all there. It is a very remarkable chamber, square in plan below, and brought to an octagon above by arches thrown across the angles, and finally roofed with a sort of dome, carried upon moulded and carved ribs of very intricate contrivance. The interlacing of these ribs gives the work somewhat the effect of being Moorish, and there can be little doubt, I think, that it owes its peculiarities in some degree to Moorish influence. It will be seen by reference to the plan that the groining ribs are arranged in parallel pairs. The ribs go from the angles to the centre of the opposite side instead of from angle to angle, and the sixteen ribs form a star-shaped compartment in the centre. This coupling of ribs in parallel lines is a feature of Moorish work, and is seen in the curious mosque, the *Cristo de la Luz*, at Toledo, and in the somewhat Moorish vault of the Templars' church at Segovia. But whether Moorish or not, it is a remarkable room, and deserves careful study. The diameter is but a little over twenty-six feet, and the light is admitted by small windows in the upper stage. I should be inclined to attribute this room and its vault to the architect of the lantern of the church, and I regret that the only part of the outside which I could see was so modernised as to render it impossible to ascertain the original design. I call this the Chapter-house, because I find that it opened originally into the cloister, with three arches, that in the centre a doorway, the others windows of two lights—the almost invariable arrangement of all Chapter-houses at this time.¹

A considerable number of masons' marks remain on the exterior of the early part of this church; and if they are the marks

¹ Don Miguel, priest of San Juan, Medina del Campo, made a donation to the church in A.D. 1178, to complete the work of the cathedral. The Chapter-house is probably of about this date or a little later.—Cean Bermudez, *Arg. de Esp.* i. 23.

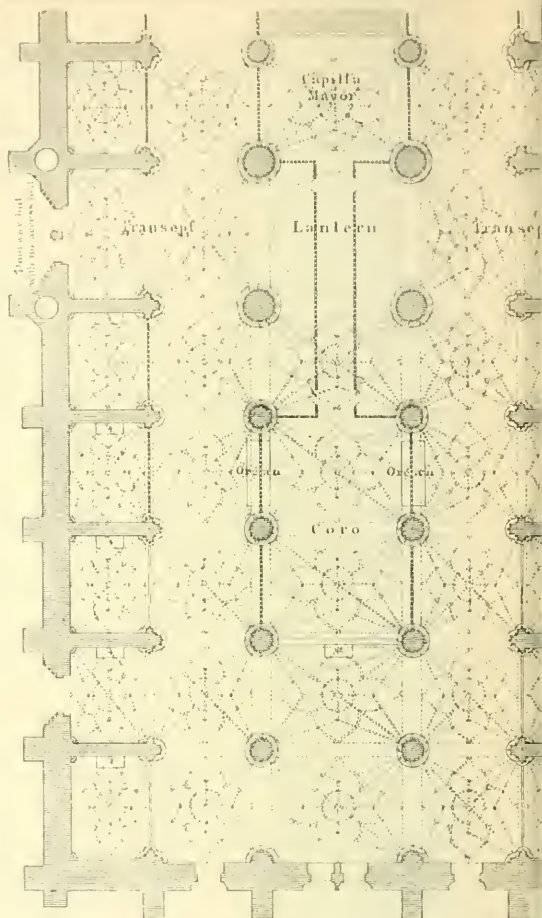
of the men who erected so complicated a piece of stonework as the vault of the Chapter-house, they well deserve to be preserved. Throughout this church, indeed, the masonry is unusually good, and, owing to the rich warm colour of the stone, the eastern apses, though they follow the common design of most of the Romanesque apses in this part of Spain, are more than usually good in their effect.

A flight of eighteen steps leads up from the old cathedral through the north transept into one of the southern chapels of the new cathedral, and I know few changes more remarkable than that from the modest simplicity, yet grandeur, of the early church, to the overbearing magnitude and somewhat flaunting character of the late one.

Salamanca seems to have tasted early of that prosperity which in the end ruined art in Spain; and it was possible, therefore, for the Bishop, in the beginning of the sixteenth century, to propose a scheme for replacing his modest old cathedral by one of the most sumptuous and ambitious in Spain, without attempting what was absurd or sure to fail. The whole discussion as to the planning of the church is told us in a series of documents published by Cean Bermudez, which are, I think, of sufficient interest to make them quite worth a place in the Appendix to this volume. I shall discuss in another chapter the light which they throw upon the architectural practice of the day, and here it will only be necessary to refer to such parts of them as affect the architectural history of the building.

In A.D. 1509 a Royal order was issued to Anton Egas, master of the works at Toledo Cathedral, to go to Salamanca to make a plan for the cathedral there. Egas seems to have delayed so long that it was necessary to send another order to him, and then at last, in May, 1510, he went. The same kind of command had been laid at the same time by the king on Alfonso Rodriguez, the master of the works at Seville, and after these two had considered the matter, they presented a joint plan, drawn on parchment, showing the heights and widths of the naves, the thickness of the walls, and so forth; but they were unable, they said, to agree as to the proportion of length to breadth in the Capilla mayor, and so they settled to meet in ten days at Toledo, and then to appoint an umpire. Nothing more seems to have been done by them, for in A.D. 1513 the Bishop and Chapter resolved to call together a Junta of architects to make another report; and Rodriguez being dead, they summoned Anton Egas of Toledo, Juan Gil de Hontañon, Juan de Badajoz of Leon, Alonso

SALAMANCA: Ground Plans of old and new Cathedrals:

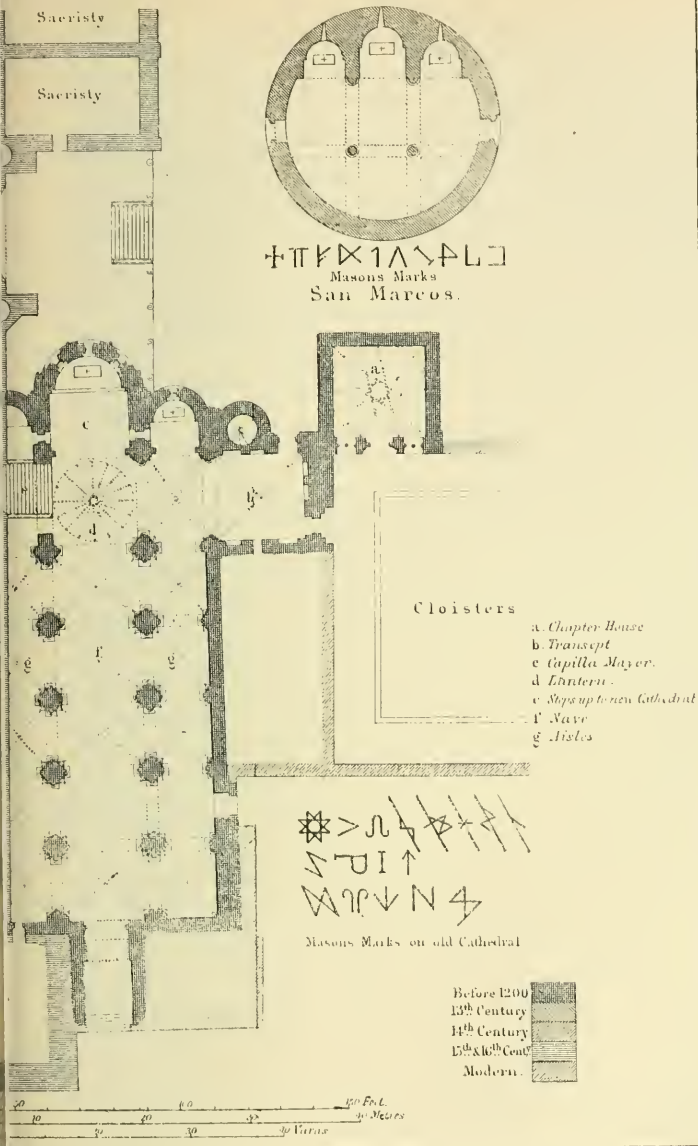


Old and New Cathedrals.

NOTE: The new Cathedral has four bays to the east of the central Lantern. Two bays for the Capilla Mayor. One bay the aisle east of Do. One bay of Chapels on the east side of the aisle. Total length 340P inside.

0 1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9 10 11 12 13 14 15 16 17 18 19 20 21 22 23 24 25 26 27 28 29 30 31 32 33 34 35 36 37 38 39 40 41 42 43 44 45 46 47 48 49 50 51 52 53 54 55 56 57 58 59 60 61 62 63 64 65 66 67 68 69 70 71 72 73 74 75 76 77 78 79 80 81 82 83 84 85 86 87 88 89 90 91 92 93 94 95 96 97 98 99 100

San Marcos:-



de Covarrubias of Toledo, Juan Tornero, Juan de Alava, Juan de Orozco, Rodrigo de Saravia, and Juan Campero, who all assembled in September, A.D. 1512, at Salamanca, and drew up their report. The detailed character of this report is very curious. It decides the dimensions of every part of the church, the thickness of the walls, the projection of the buttresses, and the exact position that it ought to occupy. The architects not only agreed in all their opinions, but testified to their truth by taking an oath "by God and S. Mary," saying each one, "So I swear, and amen."

The question was, whether the new cathedral should be on the site of the old cathedral, or to the north or to the south of it; and among other reasons for placing it to the north, where it now is, the existence of the steeple at the west end of the old cathedral was mentioned. In fine, the church has been so placed as not to interfere at all with the steeple, but little with the old cathedral, and not at all with the cloister. The opinion of the Junta of Architects has been acted upon, in short, in everything save the shape of the head of the church, which they preferred should be octagonal, and which is, in fact, square in plan.

Three days after the presentation of this report certain of the Chapter were appointed to select an architect, and their choice fell at once on Juan Gil de Hontañon for the architect, and Juan Campero for clerk of the works.¹ Whether Juan Gil really made the plans or not seems very uncertain; and I confess that to me it seems more probable that the plan made in A.D. 1509 by Egas and Rodriguez was laid before the Junta, and that they drew up their resolutions upon the data it afforded, and left to Hontañon no choice as to the proportions of his church, but only the management of its construction and the designing of its details.

If this supposition be correct, I fear I can award but little credit to Hontañon; for in this cathedral the only point one can heartily praise is the magnificence of the general idea, and the noble scale and proportion of the whole work. But the detail throughout is of the very poorest kind, fairly Gothic in character inside, but almost Renaissance outside, and everywhere wanting in vigour and effect. Nothing can be much worse than the treatment of the doorways and windows, and—to take one portion—the south transept façade is spotted all over with

¹ I use the modern terms, which seem to express their offices. The original words are J. G. de Hontañon, "maestro de cantería para maestro principal, y en Juan Campero, cantero, para aparejador."

niches, crockets, and pedestals in the most childish way; whilst every spandrel has a head looking out of a circle, reminding one forcibly of the old application of a horse-collar, and, in fact, the men were foolish who repeated, *usque ad nauseam*, so stale and unprofitable an idea!

In one respect, however, the design of this church is very important. The Spanish architects seldom troubled themselves to suit their buildings in any respect to the climate; and this, no doubt, because in very many cases they were merely imitating the works of another country, in which no precautions against heat were necessary. Here we have a church expressly designed, and with great judgment, for the requirements of the climate. The windows are very high up, and very small for the size of the building, so that no sunlight could ever make its way to any unpleasant extent into it. There are galleries in front of all the windows, both in the nave and aisles, but they are of thoroughly Renaissance character. The section of the church gives a main clerestory to the nave, and a second clerestory on one side of each aisle over the arches opening into the side chapels. The upper clerestory has two windows of two lights, and a circular window above them in each bay, and the lower clerestory traceried windows generally, I think, of three lights. The traceries are very weak and ill proportioned; but I noticed in places what seemed to be a recurrence to earlier traditions in the groupings of small windows, with several circles pierced in the wall above them. It was, however, just like the imitation of old works we so often see from incompetent hands at the present day. You see whence the idea has been taken, though it is so travestied as to be not even tolerable where the original was probably perfect!

The planning of the church is certainly infelicitous. The square east end is bald to a degree externally, and finished as it is inside with chapels corresponding with those of the aisles, wants relief and life. If the square east end is adopted in a great church, no doubt the prolonged Lady Chapels of our own churches are infinitely to be preferred to such a plan as this, which fails to give the great east windows of which we boast, and loses all the effects of light and shade in which the apsidal chevets of the Continent are so rich.

Everywhere here the buttresses are finished with pinnacles, always planned in the same way, each group being planned on a square, counterchanged over the one below: they are of several stages in height, furnished throughout with crocketed

finials on all sides, and at last with a single tall pinnacle. Nothing can be more wearisome than this kind of pinnacled buttress, but the later Spanish authorities were very fond of it, and repeated it everywhere. The dome, or *Cimborio*, is altogether Pagan in its design and detail outside, and on the inside is so plastered with an *olla* of pink cherubs, rays of light, and gilt scallopshells of monstrous size, and the like, as to be utterly contemptible in its effect. It is, moreover, too small, and too little separated from the rest of the vaulting, to look really well. The church throughout is finished with hipped roofs in place of gables; but the parapets in front of these are all Renaissance, and marked at intervals by the favourite urns in which Renaissance architects still generally and most unfortunately indulge.

The cathedral was first used for service in A.D. 1560, when on all sides Renaissance buildings were being erected, and perhaps it would be more just to Juan Gil de Hontañón to look upon him as striving to the last to maintain the cause of Christian art against the inroads of the enemy, and failing in his detail not for want of will, but because it was simply impossible to resist the tide which had set in before he died. Much, too, of the church must, no doubt, be attributed to other men; Juan de Alava, Rodrigo Gil de Hontañón, Martín Ruiz, and Juan de Ribero Rada, having been masters of the works after Juan Gil, and the church not having been completed until more than a century after its commencement.¹

It will have been noticed that the old steeple is spoken of by the Junta of Architects as a work of so much importance as to make it advisable to change the position of the new cathedral, rather than interfere with it. I do not quite understand this, for the greater part of it is now entirely of late Renaissance detail,² though some large crocketed pinnacles still exist at the angles of the highest stage. The lower part is very plain, but the upper stage of the square tower has a rich balustrade, and windows and pilasters, and above it is an octagonal stage with

¹ Two inscriptions on stones on the church give the dates of its commencement and first use.

" + Hoc Templum inceptum est anno a nativitate Domini millesimo quingentesimo tercio decimo die Jovis duodecima mensis Maii."

" + Pio. IV. Papa, Philippo II. Rege. Francisco Manrique de Lara, Episcopo, ex vetere ad hoc templum facta translatio xxv. Martii anno a Cristo nato 1560."—G. G. Dávila, *Teat. Eccl.* iii. 320, 344.

² It will be seen presently that in the somewhat similar cathedral at Zamora the Romanesque steeple occupies precisely the same position as this. It is possible that when the Junta sat the steeple they spoke of was of the same age as the old church, and that it has been subsequently recast in Renaissance.

pinnacles at the angles, and this in its turn is surmounted by a dome, with a lantern at the top. The outline is certainly fine, and its great height and mass make it a conspicuous object for a very long distance from Salamanca.

The mixed character of the detail in this church is well seen in the great doorway. Its jambs are richly moulded and carved, but the mouldings are all planned on a line receding but little from the face of the wall, so that the general effect is flat, and wanting in shadow. The main arch is a bold simple trefoil, but the label above it is carried on in an ogee line, and the arches below over two sculptured subjects, and over two door-openings under them, are elliptical. So, too, in the sculpture on the bas-reliefs over the door-openings, we have the richest luxuriance of the latest school of Spanish Gothic, with its beasts, its crisp foliage, and its wild love of heraldic achievements, and, mixed with all this, naked cherubs, clouds, and representations of Roman architecture.

In conclusion, I am bound to say of this great church that, whilst its exterior fails in almost every single particular, its interior, thanks to compliance with certain broad rules of Gothic building, is beyond question very grand and impressive. To the vast size and height of the columns this is mainly owing, for though they are cut up with endless little mouldings ingeniously "stopped," one does not observe their pettinesses, and the arches which they carry are bolder and more important than might have been expected.

Some of the side chapels have altars both at the east and the west; and where the old altars remain they have carved in stone an imitation of an altar frontal. They represent worked super-frontals with fringes, and frontals with fringed orphreys at either end: and I saw one altar with a painted imitation of embroidery all over it. A chapel on the south side of the nave has an altar entirely covered with glazed tiles, the walls around it being similarly inlaid (7).

Close to the cathedral is one of the University buildings, with a central dome and two dome-capped towers to the west of it, and near these again is another domed church, and in the distance this group is very remarkable and stately-looking (8).

I wandered all over Salamanca looking for old churches, and could find few of any interest.¹ The finest are all but Renais-

¹ Yet I think a more careful search would be rewarded, for we know of

sance in their character and detail, and seem to have owed much to the influence of Hontañón. The convents and colleges, where not ruined, are grand in scale, yet they produce none of the effect which our Oxford buildings do: but, on the other hand, they are built of a much better stone, and of a rich, warm, yellow tint. The good people here are smartening up the entrance to the town with flower-gardens, seats, and acacias, and are certainly putting their best feet forward, though there is nothing else even approaching to smartness in the place. A walk round the old walls is a melancholy amusement. They are, in part, being levelled; still I saw two or three pointed gateways, which seemed to be of early date, but very simple. I saw also some convents in a dilapidated state, and indeed everywhere the state of these is very bad, and I never saw so many waste places or half-ruined buildings. A good deal of this is no doubt owing to the operations of the French during the Peninsular War, but something certainly to the natives, who are busier in pulling down than building up; or at any rate, when they do the latter, they combine it with the former; for in some repairs of one of the University buildings I found the men re-using old wrought stones from some fifteenth-century building.

A bull-fight had just been celebrated here, and the principal square in the city, the "Plaza Mayor," one of the best I have seen in Spain, had been fitted up for the occasion as an arena, with seats sloping up from the ground to the first floor windows of the houses all round it. (There was a regular arena, but it was being demolished, to give place, I presume, to one on a grander scale.) Another Plaza close to it is the principal market-place, and affords good opportunities for the study of the costumes of the peasantry.

I was fortunate in happening to light upon one very curious church here—that of San Marcos. The engraving of the plan¹ will show how very cleverly its architect managed to combine the scheme of a circular church with the usual Spanish triapsidal arrangement. The apses are vaulted with semi-domes, whilst the rest of the church is covered with wooden roofs, and these all the consecration of several churches at an early date, and Mr. Ford speaks of them as still existing.

Church of San Nicholas, consecrated 11 Kal. Nov. 1192.

„ San Pedro „ Nov. 1202.

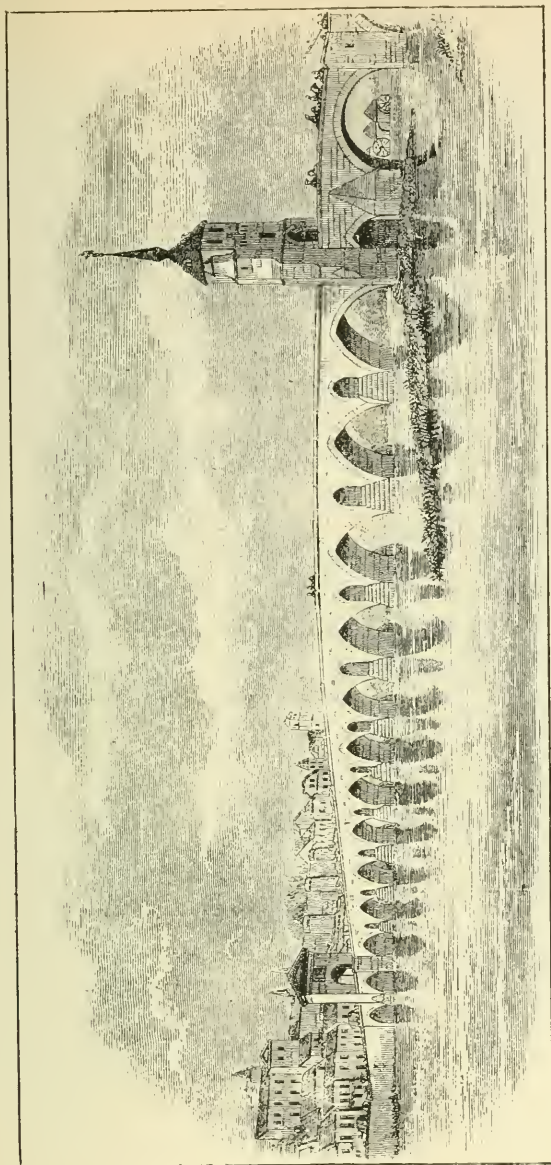
„ Sta. Maria de los Caballeros, consecrated Nov. 1214.

„ San Emilian, consecrated Nov. 1226.

„ S. Michael „ Nov. 1238.

(G. G. Dávila, *Teatro Eccl.* iii. 272-274.)

¹ Plate IV., p. 104.

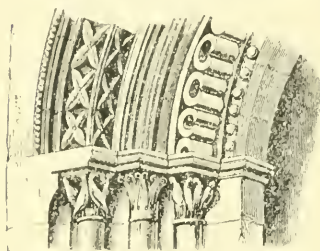


ZAMORA

THE BRIDGE ACROSS THE DOURO

lean towards the central square, which has a hipped roof. The arches are all pointed, and there are rudely carved capitals to the columns. A simple corbel-table is carried along under the eaves, and there are one or two slits—they are not more—for light. This little church is close to the town walls, and the absence of windows gives it the look of a part of a fortress. The plan seems to me to be admirably suggestive: we are too much in the habit of working perpetually in certain grooves which have been cut for us by our forefathers, and most men now-a-days would be afraid to plan a little church like this, even if the idea of it came into their heads. Yet it struck me as being really an extremely useful and economical construction, and such a scheme might with ease be fitted specially for a cemetery chapel in place of one of the vulgar erections with which we are now everywhere indulged.

The church of San Martin has a fine early doorway, in which



ARCHIVOLT. SAN MARTIN.

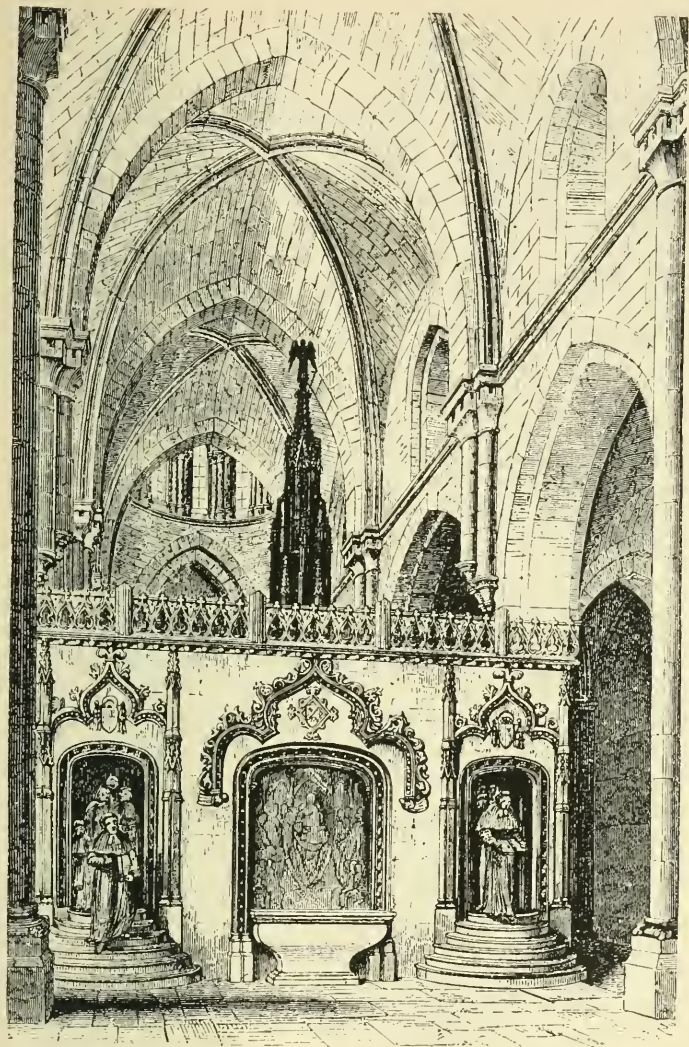
I first saw a very peculiar order of decoration, which I saw again at Zamora, and of which no doubt more examples exist in this district. My illustration will explain its design, one member of the archivolt of which is like a succession of curled pieces of wood put side by side and perfectly square in section. The effect of light and shade in such

work is rather good, but it is nevertheless rather too bizarre to be quite pleasing.

Another little church—that of San Matteo—has a rather fine, though rude, Romanesque doorway, with a buttress on each side, and a corbel-table above. But besides these I saw no remains of early work in Salamanca (9).

From Salamanca an uninteresting road leads to Zamora: occasionally there are considerable woods, and in other parts of the road the fields were well covered with vines. For two or three hours the domes of Salamanca are in sight, backed, as every view in Spain seems to be, by a fine line of distant mountains. No old churches are passed on the road, unless I except a large convent, now desecrated and nearly destroyed, but which seemed by the glimpse I caught of it to have old parts.

The entrance to Zamora is very striking: the city crowns the



ZAMORA CATHEDRAL
INTERIOR OF NAVE, LOOKING EAST

long back of a rock, falling steeply on the south to the Douro, and on the north to another valley. At the extreme end of this hill is the cathedral, as far away from the bulk of the people as it can be, but, for all that, very picturesquely and finely perched. Below the cathedral is a scarped rock, and to the left the noble river flows round a wooded point, and then out of sight under a long line of green vine-covered hills. All this view is taken in from the end of an old bridge, carried on sixteen or seventeen pointed arches, across which, near the southern end, is built a picturesque and tall gate-tower. The long line of houses occupies the top of the rock, and then opposite the bridge the street descends by a steep-stepped hill, and the houses cluster round the water-side.

The want of water in most Spanish landscapes is so great, that I was never tired of the views here, where it is so abundant. One of the best, perhaps, is that from just below the cathedral, looking past the picturesque bridge across the cattle-peopled plains to a long line of hills which bounds the horizon, with the dead-level line with which so many of the Spanish table-lands finish above the banks of their rivers.

Of the history of Zamora Cathedral I know but little. Here, as elsewhere at the same time, a Frenchman, Bernardo, a Benedictine, was bishop from A.D. 1125 to 1149, having been appointed through the influence of, and consecrated by, his namesake, the French Archbishop of Toledo.¹ Dávila says that the cathedral was built by a subsequent bishop, Don Estevan (10), "by order and at the cost of the Emperor Don Alonso VII., as is proved by some lines which were in this church." These lines give the date of 1174 as that of the completion of the work,² and it tallies

¹ G. G. Dávila, *Teatro Eccl.* ii. 397. Dávila's statement, supported by the inscription on his tomb, is that Bernardo was the first Bishop of Zamora; but this does not appear to accord exactly with the result at which Florez arrives. His statement is that Gerónimo was the first Bishop of Zamora after a long hiatus, that he was succeeded by Bernardo, and that both these bishops were appointed by Bernard of Toledo, and both were natives of Périgord. The fact seems to be that Gerónimo was Bishop of Valencia, and had to fly thence when the Moors regained possession after the Cid's death, and that he was then made Bishop of Salamanca. It is certainly not a little curious that two of the eleventh-century bishops of Zamora should have come from a district where all the vaulting is more or less domical, and that we should have in their cathedral one of the most remarkable examples of a domed church. It will be recollected that nearly the same facts have been mentioned in regard to Salamanca. See *Esp. Sag.* xiv. 362-368, and 95 *ante*.

² "Fit domus hista quidem, veluti Salomonica capridem
Huc adhibite fidem: domus hæc successit eidem.
Sumptibus, et magnis viginti fit tribus annis.

fairly with the general character of much of the building; for, though it is true that everywhere the main arches are pointed, much of the detail is undoubtedly such as to suggest as early a date as that here given.

This cathedral is on a small scale, and the most important portion of the ground-plan—the choir—having been rebuilt, it has lost much of its interest. It consists now of a nave and aisles of four bays, shallow transepts, with a dome over the crossing, a short choir with an apse of seven sides, and two choir aisles with square east ends. At the west end are chapels added beyond the church, that in the centre being of considerable length, and groined with the common intersecting ribs.¹ At the west end of the north aisle is an unusually large and fine Romanesque steeple—the finest example of the kind I have seen in Spain—and erected, no doubt, during the time of one of the French bishops already referred to.

The nave piers are very bold and vigorous in design; they are planned with triple shafts on each face of a square core, and have square caps and bases. The arches are very simple, but pointed. The massiveness of the piers is very remarkable, for though the clear width of the nave is only about twenty-three feet, the columns are not less than seven feet across. The nave is groined in square, the aisles in oblong compartments. There are no groining ribs in the aisles, though the vaults are quadripartite, and in the transepts there are pointed waggon roofs. The central dome is carried on pendentives, similar to those in the old cathedral at Salamanca. It has an arcaded and pierced stage above the pendentives, and then a dome or vault, divided into sixteen compartments by ribs of bold section, the filling in between which is a succession of small cylindrical vaults, so that the construction inside looks rather complicated. It is, moreover, so defaced by whitewash and plaster as to produce a much less fine effect than the dome at Salamanca; but, on the other hand, there can be but little doubt, I think, that it is the earlier of the two by some years. The exterior of the dome, though much decayed and mutilated, is still very noble in its design and

A quo fundatur, Domino faciente sacratur.
Anno millesimo, centesimo, septuagesimo.
Quarto completur, Stephanus, qui fecit habetur.
Alfonsus imperator, Rex Septimus fundavit."

G. G. Dávila, *Teat. Eccl.* ii. 397-398.

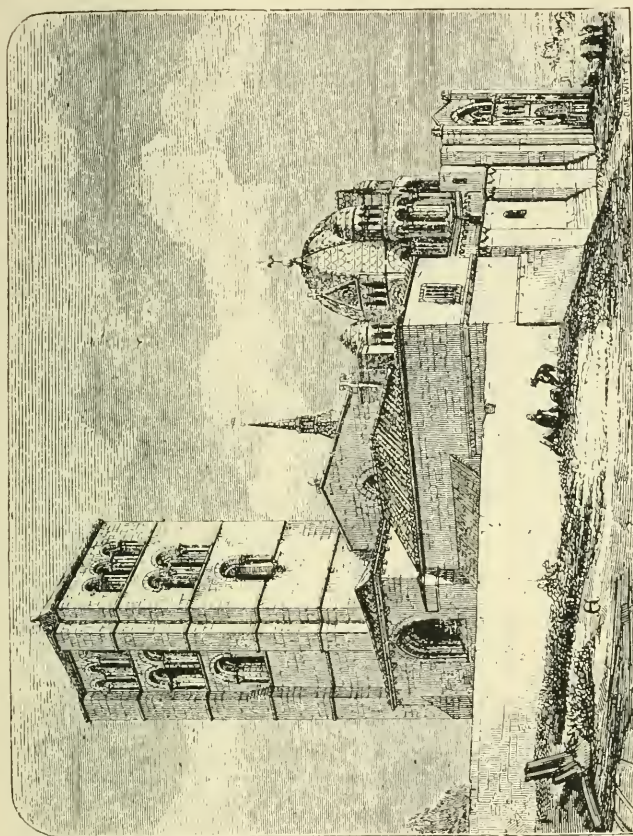
The same historian says that King Fernando I. rebuilt the city of Zamora with very strong walls in 1055.—*Ibid.* ii. 395.

¹ This I suppose is the chapel of San Ildefonso, founded in 1466 by the Cardinal D. Juan de Mella, Bishop of Zamora.

effect. It will be seen that in many respects it is singularly like that at Salamanca. The circular angle turrets, the dormers on the cardinal sides, are similar in idea, though ruder and heavier here than there: here, too, the outline of the dome is more thoroughly domical. All the courses of stone in the dome seem to have been scalloped at the edges. The arches of the windows and arcades are all semi-circular, and the angles of the dome have a sort of sharp fringe of ornament, in which we see the very earliest kind of suggestion of a crocket: it is very simple, and extremely effective. Unfortunately this extremely interesting work is not only very much decayed, but also rent throughout with cracks, and I much fear that ere long it may cease to exist. The loss of such an example would be one of the greatest misfortunes for the student of Christian art in Spain, and for rarity and peculiarity I am not speaking too strongly when I say that we in England have no monument of the middle ages which is one whit more precious. It is to be hoped that the authorities of the church will do their best to preserve it in the most tenderly conservative spirit.

The aisles have very broad massive buttresses, and the corbel-tables which crown the wall are carried round them also. There were simple round-arched, shafted windows in each bay, and the clerestory was finished like the aisle with a corbel-table.

The south transept façade is, after the lantern, the most interesting part of the church. Its general character is extremely peculiar, and unlike any other work I have seen in Spain. There are plain buttresses at the angles, and the space between them is divided into three compartments by fluted pilasters, which rise as far as the corbel-table (continued at the same level as the eaves-cornice), and carry three pointed arches which are fitted to the original flat-pitched gable, the centre arch being the widest and highest. The centre compartment has a doorway with three shafts in each jamb, and four orders in the arch all alike, and resembling the door in San Martin, at Salamanca, illustrated at p. 112. The effect of light and shade in this ornamentation is very great; and, executed as it is with comparatively little labour, I rather wonder not to have seen more of the same work elsewhere (11). Two small recessed arches occupy the side compartments of the façade on either side of the doorway: that on the right hand has its archivolt carved with extreme delicacy with a small leaf repeated frequently; and both have within their arches sculptures of figures (12). The bases of all the columns are fluted, and the capitals are all carved



ZAMORA CATHEDRAL
EXTERIOR FROM THE SOUTH-WEST

rather rudely, and have heavy abaci. Over the side arches are square sunk compartments enclosing circular ornaments carved with a succession of hollow flutings sinking back to the centre. In fact, these strange ornaments—which at first sight look almost like modern insertions—are precisely like models of the dome with its arched groining spaces between the ribs. Above the doorway is a row of five arches recessed in the wall,¹ and under the central arch in the gable is a blocked-up window-opening.

I was unable to gain admission to the interior of the steeple. On the outside it rises in a succession of nearly equal stages, of which the upper three have, in the common Lombard fashion, windows of one, two, and three lights respectively.

It remains to say a few words as to the fittings of the church. The Coro here occupies the two eastern bays of the nave, and is fitted with very rich late stalls and canopies, which are quite magnificent in their effect. The backs of the stalls are carved with figures, and those over the lower range of stalls throughout with half-length figures of Old Testament worthies, most of which have inscribed scrolls, with legends referring to our Lord, in their hands. These texts have been printed by Dr. Neale in the *Ecclesiologist*, and they afford so valuable an example of the right mode of selecting inscriptions, that, with his consent, I give a copy of his account.² The figures are rather in the style

¹ M. Villa-Amil, who gives a view of this transept, has converted this arcade into a row of windows, presented the doorway with a sculptured tympanum, and entirely altered the character of the archivolt enrichment.

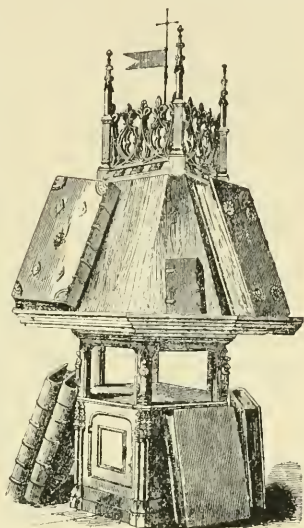
² On the north side, the figures and inscriptions are as follow:—

- | | |
|--|--|
| 1. Abel. <i>Vox sanguinis.</i> | 10. Jeremias. <i>Dominus.</i> |
| 2. Abraam. <i>Tres vidit; unum adoravit.</i> | 11. Ezekiel. <i>Porta hæc.</i> |
| 3. Joseph. <i>Melius est ut venundetur.</i> | 12. Oseas (with cross botonnée on breast). <i>Addam ultra.</i> |
| 4. Melchisedec. <i>Rex Salem proferens panem et vinum.</i> | 13. Amos. <i>Super tribus.</i> |
| 5. Job. <i>De terra surrecturus sum.</i> | 14. Micheas. <i>Percutient maxillam.</i> |
| 6. Aaron. <i>Invenit germinans.</i> | 15. Abacuc. <i>Exultabo in Deo Jesu meo.</i> |
| 7. Samson. <i>De (comedente exivit cibus).</i> | 16. Sophonias. <i>Juxta est dies.</i> |
| 8. Samuel. <i>Loquere Domine.</i> | 17. Zacharias. <i>Jesus erat.</i> |
| 9. David. <i>Dominus dixit ad me, Filius.</i> | 18. Nabuchodonosor. <i>Quartus similis Filio Dei.</i> |
| | 19. Virgilius Bucol. <i>Progenies.</i> |

On the south side:—

- | | |
|--|--|
| 1. Moyses. <i>Prophetam excitabit.</i> | 6. Helias. <i>Ambulavit in fortitudine.</i> |
| 2. Isaac. <i>Vox quidem vox.</i> | 7. Helisæus. <i>Vade, et lavare septies.</i> |
| 3. Jacob. <i>Non auferetur Sceptrum de Juda.</i> | 8. Salomon. <i>Levent servi mei.</i> |
| 4. Balaam. <i>Orietur stella ex.</i> | 9. Tobias. <i>Jherusalem.</i> |
| 5. Gedeon. <i>Si ros solo.</i> | 10. Isayas. <i>Ecce Virgo concipiet.</i> |

afterwards so much employed by Berruguete, large scale bas-reliefs of single figures—always an awkward kind of sculpture in the hands even of the very best artist. The traceries and crockets of this stall-work are very elaborate, crisp, and good of their kind. There is a continuous horizontal canopy above the upper stalls, each division of which is filled with purely secular sculptures of beasts and animals. The metal Rejas are of the same age as the stalls; and there is a fine ancient lectern for the choir, of enormous size, in the centre of the Coro, and two others of more modern date. The western screen is old—of the fifteenth-century—and has the rare feature of two doorways, leaving the centre unpierced for the altar in the nave, and the bishop's throne on its eastern side, towards the Coro. By the time this work was done, it was very generally settled that the bishop's place was here, in the centre of the western end of the Coro; but I have seen no other



CHOIR LECTERN, ZAMORA
CATHEDRAL

screen in which the entrance has still been retained at the west in connection with this arrangement of the stalls. There is an old metal screen or Reja under the eastern arch of the crossing, which is of the same age as the choir fittings, and has two iron pulpits projecting from its western face. These pulpits are lined with wood, and stand on stone bases; the staircases to them are of wood, carved on the Gospel side with figures of the Evangelists and S. Laurence, and on the Epistle side with S. John, S. Peter, and other Epistolers. Each pulpit has

11. Baruch. *Statuam Testamentum illis.*
12. Daniel. *Septuaginta hebdomades.*
13. Johel. *Magnus enim dies Domini.*
14. Jonas. *De ventre.*

15. Naum. *Ecce super.*
16. Ageus. *Veniet desideratus.*
17. Malachias. *A solis ortu usque ad.*
18. Caiaphas. *Expedit vobis.*
19. Centurio. *Vere Filius.*

a desk on a little crane projecting from the column by its side (13).

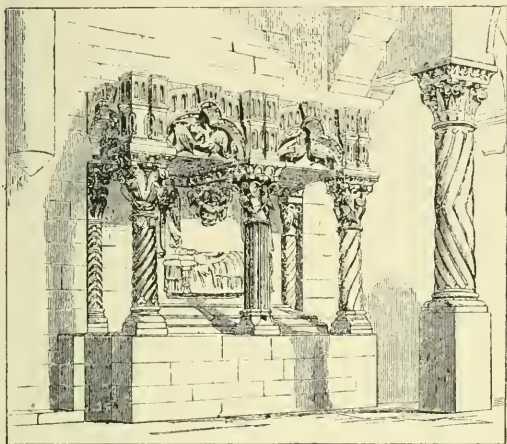
The cloisters on the north side of the cathedral, and the bishop's palace on the south, are all completely modernised; but just under the old town walls, to the north of the Cathedral Plaza, is the Romanesque church of San Isidoro. It has a square-ended chancel of two bays, and a nave of three, the latter lighted by very small windows—mere slits in the masonry—the former by shafted windows with a deep external splay to the openings, which are also very narrow. There are two of these windows at the east end, and there is a corbel-table under the eaves. This church was not intended for groining.

The long, narrow, and winding street which leads along the thin crest of the hill to the centre of the city, passes on the way the very interesting little church of La Magdalena. This is a Romanesque church, divided into nave, chancel, and apsidal sanctuary, in the way we so often see in works of similar date in England. The chancel has a pointed waggon-vault, the apse is groined with ribs, whilst the nave has now a modern (and probably always had a) flat wooden roof. The south doorway is placed very nearly in the centre of the south wall of the nave. It is a very grand example of the most ornate late Romanesque work, with twisted and moulded shafts, and a profusion of carving in the capitals and archivolts. Over this door is a circular window with dog-tooth in the label, and a quatrefoil piercing in the centre; and on each side, in the other bays, are round-arched windows of two lights. There is a very considerable likeness between the plan of this church and that of San Juan at Lérida.¹ In both, the overwhelming size and grandeur of the doorway as compared with that of the building, combined with its central position, produces at first the impression that it is the western, and not the southern, façade one is looking at. This is a defect; yet perhaps more so to the eyes of an Englishman, who now as of old prefers creeping through little holes² in the wall into his finest churches, than to those of any one used to the noble doorways of the Continent. The interior of La Magdalena is more interesting than the exterior; for, in addition to the good early detail of the arches across the chancel, it has at the east end of the nave some very fine and very peculiar monuments. Two of these are high

¹ See plan, Plate VIII., p. 178.

² The western doorways of Salisbury Cathedral are emphatically mere "holes in the wall," and very characteristic, too.

tombs, with lofty canopies over them, occupying the space between the side walls of the nave and the jambs of the chancel arch. These canopies are square-topped, with round arches on the two disengaged sides, and carried upon large shafts standing detached on the floor. The detail of the canopies is as plain as possible; but the capitals are carved with very pure and vigorous conventional foliage, and the shafts are twisted; the moulding on those of the northernmost of the two monuments being reversed in mid-height, so as to produce a large and



MONUMENT, LA MAGDALENA

simple chevron. The mouldings of the shaft are carefully stopped below the necking, and above the base. The effect of this monument, filling in as it does the angle at the end of the nave, is extremely good; its rather large detail and general proportions giving it the effect of being an integral part of the fabric rather than, as monuments usually are, a subsequent addition.

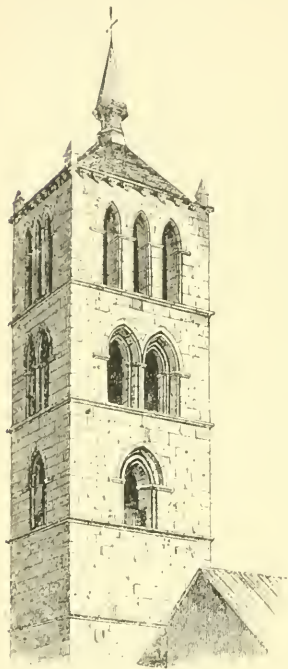
To the west of the monument already mentioned, against the north wall, is another of about the same age—probably the early part of the thirteenth century—and even more curious in its design. It has three shafts in front carrying the canopy; and this is composed of two divisions of canopy-work, very similar to those so often seen in French sculpture over figures and subjects in doorways; under each are a pair of monsters—

wyverns, or some such nondescripts—fighting. The capitals are similarly carved, and the abaci have conventional foliage. The tomb under the canopy has a plain coffin-shaped stone with a cross on it; but against the wall are, below, a figure lying in a bed carved on a bold block of stone projecting from the wall; and, above this, the soul of the departed being carried

up by angels. The whole design and character of this monument are so unlike any other work that I know, that I give a native artist the credit of them. Yet the character of the detail seems to me to show an acquaintance with the French and Italian architecture of the day (14).

La Magdalena is said to have been a church founded by the Knights Templars, but on the suppression of their order in A.D. 1312 to have become the property of the Knights of S. John of Jerusalem.

San Miguel, near the picturesque market-place in the centre of the city, has a fine south door. The archivolts are bold, but quite plain, and square in section. Each order is carried on three shafts, and the boldness of the effect is very striking. On the other side of the Plaza the tall tower of San Vicente (15) rises well up against the sky. It has a fine west doorway, and rises above the roof in three stages,



SAN VICENTE, ZAMORA

lighted respectively by windows of one, two, and three lights. It is finished with a simple corbel-table, above which is a modern roof. The whole of the detail here is fine, simple, early-pointed, very pure and good. The church seems to be almost entirely modernised.

In the lower and eastern part of the city there are also one or two interesting churches. San Leonardo has a square tower engaged against the north side of the west front, very plain

below, but with a belfry-stage of two pointed windows, moulded angles, simple corbel-table, and a low square slated spire—the slates cut to pattern, like scales. The fine west door of this church is round-arched, and on either side of it are great brackets sculptured with a lion and a bear (16).

Sta. Maria de la Horta is a church of the same class as La Magdalena. It has a western tower, a nave of three bays of quadripartite groining carried on very bold piers and shafts in the side walls, a chancel, and apsidal sanctuary. The apse has a semi-dome, with a pointed archway in front of it. The chancel has a round waggon-vault, and the arch between it and the nave is semi-circular. The vaulting of the nave is extremely domical in its section. The light is admitted by small windows in the upper part of the walls, and above the abaci of the groining shafts, which are continued round the building as a string-course. The west doorway is round-arched, with chevron, and a sort of shell or flower-ornament in its arch-mouldings. The tower is of the prevailing type: in the stage above the roof there is a window of one light; in the next there are two lights; and above this the steeple has been destroyed, and a modern roof added. The walls outside are finished with a fine and bold thirteenth-century eaves-cornice (17).

I think one may see here the local influence exercised by the fine Romanesque tower of the cathedral, which, in its division into equal stages, with an increasing number of openings, has been followed in all these other steeples.

A walk over the bridge takes one to the ruins of a rather fine church (18) close to its further end. This has an apse of seven sides, with good windows of two lights, with a trefoiled circle in the head; above this is a string-course with trefoiled arcading under it, and above this a second tier of windows. The whole is of good early middle-pointed character.¹

The walls (19) here, as in so many of the Spanish towns, are fairly perfect, and are thickly studded with the usual array of round towers throughout their length. The bridge already mentioned is probably a work of the thirteenth century. The arches are perfectly plain and pointed, springing from about the

¹ I add Dr. Neale's notes of two churches here which I did not discover.

"San Juan de la Puerta Nueva. Principally of Flamboyant date, has a square east end. The whole breadth of the church is here under one vault, the span somewhere about sixty feet. The north porch, separated by a parclose from the chapel of the Cross, has an excellent Transitional door. The western façade has a middle-pointed window of five lights.

"San Pedro. Has had its originally-distinct nave and aisles thrown into one in Flamboyant times, and vaulted with an immense span."

water-level. The piers between the arches project boldly; and over each is a small arch pierced through the bridge, which gives a good deal of additional effect to the design. The grand length of this bridge, with its long line of pointed arches reflected in the lazily-flowing Douro, and backed by the towers and walls of the city, is extremely striking. Neither of the gateways on it is really old; but nevertheless they add much to its picturesqueness. The only old domestic building of any note that I saw in Zamora was a very late Gothic house in the Plaza de los Momos (20). The entrance doorway has the enormous and exaggerated arch-stones so common in the later Catalan buildings, but not often seen in this part of Spain. It has above it a label, which is stepped up in the centre to enclose a great coat-of-arms, with its supporters. On either side of this are two windows which, with the coat-of-arms in the centre, make a panel of the same width as the door below. The other principal windows are on a line with these, and all of them of thoroughly debased design. They are of two round-headed lights enclosed within a label-moulding, which finishes in an ogee trefoil; and this again within another label-moulding, either square or ogee in the head. The vagaries of these later Gothic architects in Spain are certainly far from pleasant; yet odd as its detail is, the plain masses of unbroken wall in the lower part of this front give it a kind of dignity which is seldom seen in modern work. The practice of making all the living-rooms on the first-floor of course conduces largely to this happy result.

I was unable, unfortunately, to spare time when I was at Zamora to go over to Toro to see the fine Collegiata there (21). M. Villa Amil has given a drawing of the domed lantern over the Crossing. In plan it is similar to the domes at Salamanca and Zamora as to the angle pinnacles, but not as to the gabled windows between them. But it appears to have lost its ancient roof; and I cannot understand, from the drawing, how the domical roof, which it was no doubt built to receive, can now possibly exist.¹ It seems pretty clear that this example is of rather later date than that at Salamanca; and we have therefore in Zamora, Salamanca, and Toro a very good sequence of Gothic domes, all upon much the same plan, and most worthy of careful study. A more complete acquaintance with this part of Spain might be expected to reveal some other examples of the same extremely interesting kind of work.

¹ Nevertheless, Dr. Neale describes it as existing, and so, no doubt, it does.—"An Ecclesiastical Tour," *Ecclesiologist*, xiv. 361.

From Zamora (22), cheered by the recollection of perhaps the most gorgeous sunset and the clearest moonlight that I ever saw, I made my way across country to Benavente. It is a ten hours' drive over fields, through streams and ditches, and nowhere on a road upon which any pains have ever been bestowed; and when I say that the country is flat and uninteresting, the paternal benevolence of the government which leaves such a district practically roadless will be appreciated. Beyond Benavente the case is still worse, for the broad valley of the Esla, leading straight to Leon, is without a road along which a *tartana* can drive, though there is scarcely a hillock to surmount or a stream to cross in the forty miles between a considerable town and the capital of the province!

Soon after leaving Zamora some villages were seen to the right, and one of them seemed to me to have a church with a dome; but my view of it was very distant, and I cannot speak with any certainty. From thence to Benavente no old building was passed.

Benavente is the most tumble-down forlorn-looking town I have seen. Most of the houses are built of mud, rain-worn for want of proper thatching, of only one story in height, and relieved in front by a doorway and usually one very small hole for a window. There is, however, a church—Sta. Maria del Azogue—which made the journey quite worth undertaking. It is cruciform, with five apses projecting from the eastern wall, that in the centre larger than the others.¹ The apses have semi-domes, the square compartments to the west of them quadripartite vaulting in the three centre, and waggon-vaults in the two outer bays. The transepts and crossing are vaulted with pointed barrel-vaults at the two ends, and three bays of quadripartite vaulting in the space between these two compartments; and the internal effect is particularly fine, owing to the long line of arches into the eastern chapels and the rich character of most of the details. The nave and aisles no doubt retain to some extent their old form and arrangement, but most of the work here is of the fifteenth century, whilst that of the eastern part of the church is no doubt of *circa* A.D. 1170–1220. The west front is quite modernised. The transept walls are lofty, and there is a simple pointed clerestory above the roofs of the eastern chapels, and a rose window over the arch into the Capilla mayor. The smaller chapels have each one window, the centre chapel three windows with the usual three-quarter engaged shaft between

¹ See plan, Plate VIII., p. 178.

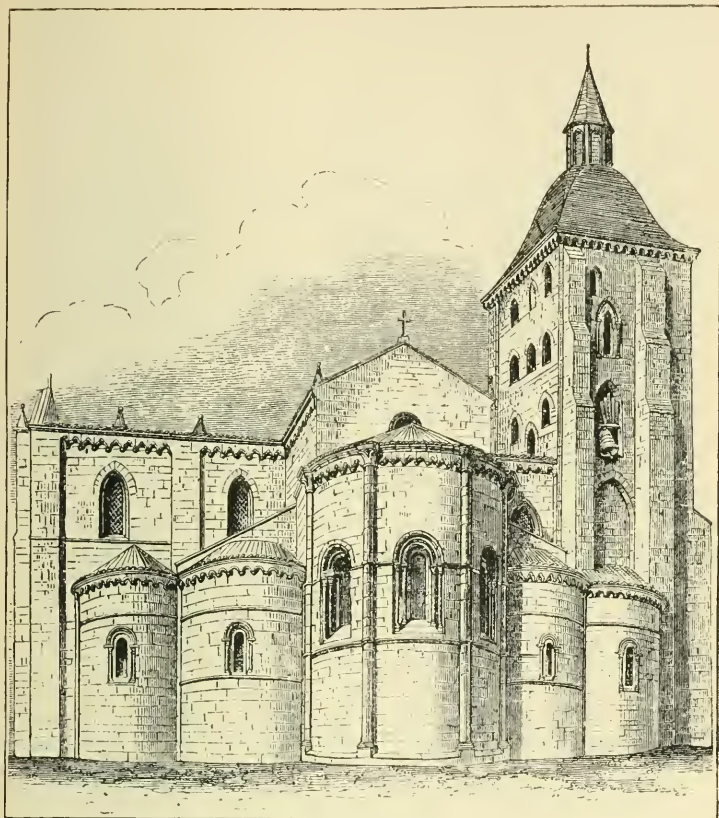
them, finishing in the eaves-cornice. The south transept has a fine round-headed doorway, but all its detail is that of early-pointed work. It has an Agnus Dei surrounded by angels in the tympanum, the four Evangelists with their emblems in one order of the arch, bold foliage in the next, a deep scallop ornament in the third, and delicate foliage in the label. The capitals are well carved, and the jambs of the door and one of the members of the archivolt have simple rose ornaments at intervals. The abaci of the capitals are square, but notwithstanding this and the other apparently early feature of the round arch, I am still not disposed to date this work earlier than *circa* A.D. 1210-20.¹ Of the same age and character probably are all the eaves-cornices of the earlier part of the church, and, I have little doubt, the whole lower portion of the church itself (23).

There is a fine doorway to the north transept, and a lofty tower of very singular design rises over its northern bay. This is three stages in height above the roof, and is finished with a corbel-table and a modern spire of ogee outline. The masons' marks on the exterior of the walls are here, as is usual in these early churches, very plentiful.

The church of San Juan del Mercado seems to be in some respects even more interesting than the other. It has a south doorway of singularly rich character, the two inner orders of the arch being round and the others pointed. The shafts are unusually rich and delicate; they are carved with acanthus-leaves diapered all over their surface, with chevrons and spiral mouldings, and above their bands at mid-height have in front of them figures of saints, three on either side. The tympanum has the Adoration of the Magi, and the order of the arch round it is sculptured with angels. Altogether this is a very refined and noble work, and the combination of the pointed and round arches one over the other is very happy. The west front has also a fine doorway and engaged shafts at intervals in the wall, and the east end is parallel triapsidal of the same character as that of San Juan.

There are some other churches, but those which I saw seemed to be all late and uninteresting. There are, too, the rapidly wasting ruins of an imposing castle. It is of very late sixteenth-century work, and apparently has no detail of any interest; but the approach to it through a gateway, and up a winding hilly

¹ There is an inscription on the south-east buttress of the transept which, I believe, refers to the date of the church; but, unfortunately, though I noticed it, I forgot to write it down.



BENAVENTE

EAST END OF STA. MARIA

road under the steep castle walls, is very picturesque. By its side an Alameda has been planted, and here is the one agreeable walk in Benavente. Below is the river Esla, winding through a broad plain well wooded hereabouts with poplars and aspens; in the background are lines of hills, and beyond them bold mountain outlines; and such a view, aided by the transparent loveliness of the atmosphere, was enough to make me half-

inclined to forget the squalid misery of everything that met the eye when I passed back again to my lodging.

NOTES

(1) The walls are quite gone now.

(2) The old cathedral has been restored; in the vaulting only the aisles and third bay of the nave show stones laid as in a dome. The statues at the crossing are changed about—under the dome, two angels trumpeting, one with a book, and one missing; in the south transept, first bay, S. Michael, a bishop, and a knight, each with a dragon, and a knight with a lion; in the outer bay, sitting figures, half grotesque; in the north transept only two remaining, a king with a cup, and another apparently with a dragon. It is hard to be sure of the intentions in Spanish cathedrals, where the greatest builders never uttered so coherent a history or body of doctrine as those of even a third-rate French church.

(3) These are gone, and, indeed, much is changed. The timbers do not project, the pierced stone work above the transept is filled in, and the billet moulding goes only around the central apse. The north apse, which seems untouched, has instead a ball in the hollow of the moulding, and wants corbels.

(4) Nearly all these have, beside the sculpture, remains of painting in the tympanum of the recess, very interesting to the student, that shows a strong likeness to the French painting of the same time on walls, windows, and miniatures. The favourite subject is the Epiphany. Other evidence of the French influence (if such is wanted) are the great Madonna at Huesca, in a side chapel, painted in tempera on linen, and a small tempera painting of the Crucifixion, preserved in the inner sacristy at Pamplona.

(5) The retablo was painted by Nicholas Florentino in 1445. The work is assuredly Italian, but the number and choice of subjects neither Italian nor French—they are too many for the former and too consecutive for the latter. The whole is absolutely in the tradition of Spanish ecclesiastical art, in the same vein as the great retables of saintly legend which abound in Spain and in Spain alone. Whether one of the canons dictated the choice, or the master of the works, he was a Spaniard certainly. The two lower central panels, which replace a lost image, are by a later and a Spanish hand, that of Fernando Gallegos probably. The scenes—a Pietà and a Way to Calvary—are beyond question from his atelier. About the Florentine, Señor Gomez Moreno has a most ingenious theory: he believes him identical with Dello Delli, registered in Florence in 1432, who, as we know from Vasari, worked in Spain, returned home once in 1446, and was still living in Castile about 1460. He was famous at home for *cassone* pictures. Now, if his name was Dello di Niccoló and he painted the fifty-three panels of this retablo, then re-visited Florence and found a fresh inspiration there before painting the Last Judgment in the vault above, the conditions of the case seem

satisfied. Moreover, Dello had a brother, called by the rather uncommon name of Samson. This Nicholas had likewise a brother Samson, who kept his shop in Avila and is mentioned with him in a contract dated 1466. The scenes of the retable at Salamanca read as follows, from left to right, beginning at the bottom:—

I. Nativity of the Blessed Virgin, her Espousal, Annunciation, Visitation, S. Joseph's Dream, the Nativity, Circumcision, Epiphany, Presentation, and Flight into Egypt.

II. Massacre of the Innocents, Christ among the Doctors, Baptism, Temptation, Angels Ministering, S. John baptising and talking to disciples, Christ reading in the Synagogue (apostles and doctors about), Marriage at Cana, Woman in Adultery, Lame Man Healed.

III. Paralytic Healed, S. Peter walks on the Sea, Feast in the House of Simon, Woman of Samaria, Miracle of the Loaves and Fishes, Healing the Blind, Transfiguration, the Money-changers, Bethesda, Canaanitish Woman, Raising of Lazarus.

IV. The Box of Ointment, Entry into Jerusalem, Last Supper, Washing the Feet, Agony in the Garden, Kiss of Judas, Christ at the Pillar, Way to Calvary, Crucifixion, Deposition, Way Home from Golgotha.

V. The Harrowing of Hell, Entombment, Resurrection, Maries at the Tomb, Christ as Gardener, Way to Emmaus, Incredulity of Thomas, Ascension, Pentecost, Apostles preaching from the Upper Room, Assumption, and Coronation.

(6) The following chapels opening out of the cloister have one or more interesting retables carved or painted, or more usually both:—the Mozarabic chapel, those of S. Barbara, S. Catherine, S. Bartholomew; there are other retables in the south-west corner and the west walk of the cloister. This, however, was boarded off for a workshop and the key not to be had. The retable of S. Catharine is dated by payments made in 1500 to one "Gallego," twice without other name and once as Francisco. Now, the great Gallegos was called Fernando. M. Bertaux is quite sure that this is the painter of the Pietà and Way to Calvary, inserted in the Retablo Mayor, and more than half wants to identify him with Fernando, though the multitude of Gallegos retables and the differences among them force one to assume a big atelier. In the New Cathedral (chapel of S. Anthony of Padua) there is one of the Virgin with SS. Christopher and Andrew, too much repainted to serve any end.

(7) The Capilla Dorada, in which I counted one hundred and eleven statues, offers everything in the world for the iconography of the Renaissance in Spain, Saints, Sibyls, Virtues, Heroes, etc., but shows so little care to distinguish the figures by any significant sign that their names have all, perforce, been painted underneath.

(8) These I take to be the Seminario Conciliar and the church of the Dominican nuns.

(9) Of early work, the walls and gates are all gone, so is San Matteo, which dated from the eleventh century, being consecrated by S. Isidore in 1062. San Marcos was founded in 1178 by Alfonso

VIII., and in 1202 Alfonso IX. raised it to a Chapel Royal. The apses are later, and by restoration it has lost the picturesque porch with which a following age embellished one side. The whole is abandoned and indescribably wretched; furthermore, it is locked up, but the priest of the Carmen, in the Plaza de Santo Tomé, keeps the key and is very kind. San Martin, which has many likenesses to the Old Cathedral, appears in a writing of 1173: Señor Faulcon says¹ that he saw as a boy the apses that are now built up by other houses: they had high, narrow windows and buttresses. The church is very beautiful—enough to draw one to Salamanca were there no Old Cathedral or cloister of the Vega. Of the churches named by Ford I could learn nothing about San Nicholas, San Pedro, or San Miguel. They have perished and their place knows them no more. Santa Maria de los Caballeros has been completely made over. San Millan possesses charms of its own, but they are very rococo charms. There are, however, four others, of which the first, San Julian, is from the time of Raymond of Burgundy, built in 1107, rebuilt in the fifteenth century. The only old part, the north door and wall above, looks very Lombard, with the survivor of a pair of beasts high up. San Cristobal, founded 1145, in the quarter where lived the Castellan that came in the early twelfth century with Count Raymond, belonged already in 1150 to the knights of S. John. The apse is old, very deep, with a billet moulding and carved corbels. Santa Eulalia, 1110, is said to have a Romanesque door. It belongs to the Little Sisters of the Poor, and at the moment I could not see it, but I discovered on the opposite face of the square of buildings some charming late Gothic windows looking on a steep street. S. Thomas of Canterbury is of the same size and style, with a west tower the whole width of the nave, a round-headed window in the transept, and Romanesque fragments of arcading on the buttress alongside, like that at San Pedro in Zamora; three apses with the usual string-courses, corbels, and pilasters.

(10) He began it in 1151.

(11) There is plenty in the north-west, identical and with modifications, throughout Galicia and the Asturias.

(12) On the east SS. Paul and Peter, on the west Madonna between censuring angels.

(13) The *trascoro* and the central chapel at the west have paintings by Fernando Gallegos, the latter signed. It represents in the centre the Imposition of the Chasuble, to the left the Blessed Virgin letting a bishop touch her veil, to the right the same bishop giving a casket to pilgrims with lame beggars about. Above, the Crucifixion is flanked by the Baptism and the Decollation of S. John, and these scenes by figures of Adam and Eve; in the range below, the Church and Synagogue, SS. John the Evangelist, Isidore, Peter, Veronica, Jerome, and James. The *retablo* on the *trascoro* presents Christ enthroned between His mother and the Precursor, with saints and angels around. Gallegos, who was more diligent than interesting, signed everything he could and a good deal that he should not. He is visibly the subject and the consequence of Flemish

¹ *Salamanca Artistica y Monumental*.

influences, but precisely which influences critics are not agreed. One of his pupils, sometimes called fantastically *The Master of the Armouries*, has a marked personality, and is represented in the great retablo from Cuidad Rodrigo, now in Sir Frederick Cook's possession at Richmond.

(14) Don José Maria Quadrado says this church was once vaulted, and Señor Lampérez assigns it to the thirteenth century. At half past ten on Sunday morning I could not get in. I regret the more to have missed these tombs, because the sculptural part of one of the sepulchres in the Old Cathedral at Salamanca reminded me of contemporary work in Pisa and Umbria, and I was anxious to make comparisons.

(15) San Vicente is now hidden from the square by a new shop. The south door has the same effect as those of the cathedral and San Ildefonso, but the details are later. The last-named church, which shares its dedication with S. Peter and is identical with that cited from Dr. Neale, is all rebuilt but one apse and one window; it has still the central apse with half-columns and corbels, and a bit of Romanesque arcade on the wall of the nave. The arches of this being narrow, stilted, and set well back on the large abacus of the shafts, at first glance seem of a horse-shoe form, illustrating precisely on a smaller scale the same illusion as at Santiago of Compostella. San Juan de la Puerta Nueva, I was told, is the name of the church that Street and I had called San Miguel.

(16) A lioness with her cub, I think.

(17) The porch and west door are hidden inside a modern entrance, and another door midway the south side, now walled up, had opened into a fine vaulted chamber, once perhaps a porch, now a baptistery. With grotesques on the capitals and zig-zag mouldings, this work is unlike any other in the town. In the chapel south of the sanctuary is a fine retablo in the best Castilian manner, and another, later and different, but also of Castile, in the south-western chapel, painted with great feeling for sky and air and sober, anxious folk.

(18) San Claudio.

(19) Not only are the walls gone, but the railroad burrows under the hill on which the town lies somewhat like Siena in a great Y, and the station is beyond the tip of the longest spur, quite half an hour from the centre and further yet from either the cathedral or the river.

(20) Now, among other base uses, serving as the Parador de los Momos, the square being called the Plaza de Zorrilla. The great arch-stones occur also on a gateway at Salamanca close to San Julian.

(21) At Toro S. Mary Major, judging from the history of the town, must have been built in the latter half of the twelfth century, but the great western portal and some of the capitals show that it cannot have been finished till deep into the thirteenth. It is in the essential parts, however, probably earlier than the Cathedral of Salamanca, because it contains more archaic elements, *i.e.*, the barrel-vault in the arms of the transept, and the plainer design of the lantern. It is said to have been the cathedral of the diocese before Zamora, but

it was a simple church when the Catholic kings, Ferdinand and Isabel, raised it to the collegiate estate. The architecture is Romanesque in the east end and transept, transitional in the nave, Burgundian in type throughout. Built of yellow stone, golden in the sunlight, that weathers even more beautifully than that of Oxford and soon loses the marks of restorers, it stands superbly away from the life of the little town, high above a river, and visited all night by troops of stars. The lantern has three stages and a low conical roof, four turrets, and two rows of windows, all much less complicated than those at Salamanca. The top stage of the central apse, like that of the lantern, is not original, and simply carries the tiled roof; the cornice below that is supported on fine corbels, fashioned like early Gothic capitals. A great arcade, pierced with windows in the alternate openings, rests on another blind arcade, plain and very shallow, and four three-quarter columns divide the whole. The other two apses are built against. The great transepts carry corbel-tables with heads between the arches, and two shallow buttresses on each side of the corner; the southern, less rebuilt, keeps a wheel-window of eight shallow round arches. Above the pointed south door of the nave another rich rose is pierced; capitals, mouldings, and windows are here decorated with acanthus leaves in very low relief, full of fine lines, like plaited lawn. The north door has a round head and no tympanum, with similar decorative motives in the round-arched window above. Three pairs of shafts in the jambs carry four orders in the arch, the second and fourth of which show little figures, of Christ reigning and fourteen angels in the one case, and in the other the twenty-four elders making music with Christ, the Blessed Virgin, and S. John—all seated on the radius of the arch as in the *Gloria* of Santiago. This arrangement, found sometimes, though rarely, in the south-west of France, is the common one in all north-western Spain. The capitals here bear partly monsters and partly leafy forms of the transition. Those of the apse arcade are very various; some of Gothic form, but full of fine lines, others made up of *entrelacs* or histories—a king on horseback who meets a monk, a knight who leaves his horse standing to fight a panther—perhaps Froila and the bear. Within, the church is all restored, but rather discreetly, and at the west front, now built up and used for a baptistery, the colour was last laid on in 1774:—“*Retocose esta retablo scendo cura Don Manuel de Orenas.*” On the lintel of the portal is the Dormition of the Blessed Virgin; the twelve apostles and two angels lay her in her grave, one reads the funeral office, and two angels take her soul up in a napkin to Coronation in the tympanum, between two angels with candles and two more censing above. On the mid-post she holds a flower, with the Holy Child on her left arm, and the corbels of the lintel carry on their faces angel musicians. Jambs and door-sides are covered with panelling and the short shafts are historied in part, with the Nativity and the Shepherds, the Epiphany—then Herod receives the Kings, consults the Doctors, takes counsel, and slaughters the Innocents. Statues under canopies above this have lost the inscriptions by which they were once intelligible: on the left an angel with a scroll, a prophet in a Jew’s cap, with scroll, a fine gentleman, and Solomon,

each with a book: on the right, David playing on his harp, Daniel with a book, a prophet with a turban, and an angel, both with scrolls. The archivolt reads, beginning from the outside at the centre:—Christ in Judgment between SS. Mary and John, the instruments of the passion to left and right, angels trumpeting and the dead rising and passing in a long procession to S. Peter, crowned and enthroned. The souls of the blessed abide in a fair garden, three seated are making music, others, half-lengths or mere heads, look out of the interstices of leafy garlands. Beyond lies more than a hint of Purgatory—a door, one figure in a gown and another soul naked in the flame; to the other side, a devil marshals soldiers and laymen to all sorts of torments, hell-mouth gaping at the bottom of all. The other rows follow in order: eighteen elders, crowned, with musical instruments; sixteen virgins and matrons with palms; fourteen confessors, monks, and bishops; twelve martyrs, chiefly clergy; ten doctors with books; eight angels with music and incense alternately. In conception and realisation all this is French, at one remove, and more than a little in the same vein as Leon. I understand that the portal at Cuidad Rodrigo is like enough to be from the same hand, and that probably a Leonese. Inside, the nave has three bays of barrel-vault: the aisles, two of octopartite, and the third, to eastward, simpler. The lantern carries its sixteen ribs superbly on two rows of short shafts between the windows; the design seems to me simpler, finer, and earlier than that at Salamanca. In the crossing are pendentives, in the three parallel apses semi-domes, with a bay of barrel-vault to lengthen the central one, and barrel-vaults in the transepts; the main arches are all pointed. Four Fonseca tombs—a bishop and a couple on the epistle side, a doctor and a lady on the other, are flamboyant in style and would be lovely in treatment if they were not smeared with yellow paint; another is in the south apse. The baroque retables are discouraging, but I understand that in San Lorenzo there was very lately seen a fine polyptych by Gallegos, the frame painted with the arms of Don Pedro of Castile (died 1492) and his wife, Doña Beatriz de Fonseca. Eight panels, four of the Infancy and four of S. Lawrence, were in position, with the predella and the upper part; that dislodged from the centre by a churrigueresque abomination, and long kept in the bishop's palace, has gone to Paris; it represents Christ in glory between the Church and the Synagogue. If I had stayed longer I might have found this retable, and I regretted enough, as it was, not to stay. The town, which is not really hard of access, has a delicious, independent, courteous life of its own, and the modest inn of the Píneros is clean and kindly.

(22) Moreruela. Between Zamora and Benavente, the train stops a moment at Las Tablas, whence a cart-road leads to Moreruela, the earliest Cistercian foundation in Spain. Very considerable ruins still standing show the finest transitional style of building some time between 1131 and 1168. The monks were sent by S. Bernard from Clairvaux for Alfonso VII. The nave is quite ruined, but the chevet presents a superb view outside from the east, with chapels and ambulatory mounting successively toward it. The capitals, for instance those of the window shafts inside the apses,

are fine enough for Greek workmen, though following for the most part French models.

(23) Of Santa Maria del Azogue, Señor Lampérez takes pains to say, Street found the date, 1220. The nave was vaulted in the middle of the sixteenth century. The inscription in the transept buttresses reads: "Esta Yglesia esta senalada para el asilo y sagrado de los reos, Benavente, Diciembre 26 de 1773." The date of the west front is 1735. It contains very fair retables and a charming Virgin and angel on the piers of the choir facing the nave. Señor Gomez Morena says the Cistercian church of Moreruela gave much both to this and to San Juan. The latter is dated by an inscription in the arch between the choir and the northern apse, "Era MCCXX."—*i.e.*, A.D. 1182. The north door, which opens into the priest's garden, is very like the north door of Santa Maria, and the same masons' marks are repeated on both buildings. It contains a lovely retable of S. Isidore and others, that shows delicate Umbrian and Tuscan influence. This part of Spain is almost unspoiled by travellers; courtesy and kindness are the rule; children are civil-mannered, and the hill towns are comparable to those of Italy, if not in nobility of silhouette yet certainly in magnificence of situation.

CHAPTER V

LEON

It is a ride of some six-and-thirty or forty miles from Benavente to Leon. The road follows the course of the valley of the Esla all the way, and, though it is as nearly as possible level throughout, it is impassable for carriages. This is characteristic of the country; the Spaniards are content to go on as their fathers have done before them, and until some external friend comes to make a railway for them, the people of Benavente and Leon will probably still remain as practically isolated from each other as they are at present.

The valley is full of villages, as many as ten or twelve being in sight at one time on some parts of the road. None of their churches, however, seem to be of the slightest value. They are mostly modern and built of brick, though some have nothing better than badly built cob-walls to boast of; and their only unusual feature seems to be the great western bell-gable, which is generally an elevation above the roof of the whole width of the western wall, in which several bells are usually hung in a series of openings. The villages, too, are all built of cob; and as the walls are either only half-thatched or not thatched at all, they are gradually being worn away by the rains, and look as forlorn and sad as possible. One almost wonders that the people do not quit their hovels for the wine-caves with which every little hill near the villages is honeycombed, and upon which more care seems to be bestowed than upon the houses. In these parts the peasants adorn the outside of their houses with plenty of whitewash, and then relieve its bareness with rude red and black paintings of sprigs of trees, arranged round the windows and doors.

The cathedral of Leon is first seen some three or four hours before the city is reached. It stands up boldly above the well-wooded valley, and is backed by a noble range of mountain peaks to the north; so that, though the road was somewhat monotonous and wearying, I rode on picturing to myself the great things I was soon to see. Unfortunately I visited Leon a year too late, for I came just in time to see the cathedral bereft

of its southern transept, which had been pulled down to save it from falling, and was being reconstructed under the care of a Madrilenian architect—Señor Lavinia. I saw his plans and some of the work which was being put in its place, and the sight made me wish with double earnestness that I had been there before he had commenced his work! In England or in France such a work would be full of risk, and might well fill all lovers of our old buildings with alarm; but in Spain there is absolutely no school for the education of architects, the old national art is little understood and apparently very little studied, and there are no new churches and no minor restorations on which the native architects may try their 'prentice hands. In England for some years we have lived in the centre of a church-building movement as active and hearty perhaps as any ever yet known; our advantages, therefore, as compared with those possessed by foreigners generally are enormous; whilst perhaps, on the other hand, in no country has so little been done as in Spain during the present century. Yet in England few of us would like to think of pulling down and reconstructing one side of a cathedral, and few would doubt that art and history would lose much in the process, even in the hands of the most able and conservative architect.

The two great architectural features of Leon are the cathedral and the church of San Isidoro; and to the former, though it is by much the most modern of the two, I must first of all ask my readers to turn their attention.

Spaniards are rightly proud of this noble church, and the proverbs which assert its pre-eminence seem to be numerous. One, giving the characteristics of several cathedrals, is worth quoting:—

“ Dives Toletana, Sancta Ovetensis
Pulchra Leonina, fortis Salamantina.”

And again there is another Leonese couplet:—

“ Sevilla en grandeza, Toledo en riqueza,
Compostella en fortaleza, esta en sutileza.”

So again, just as our own people wrote that jubilant verse on the door-jamb of the Chapter-house at York, here on a column in front of the principal door was inscribed:—

“ Sint licet Hispaniis ditissima, pulchraque templa,
Hoc tamen egregiis omnibus arte prius.”

There used to be a controversy as to the age of this cathedral,

which must, however, one would think, long since have been settled. It was asserted that it was the very church built at the end of the ninth century during the reign of Ordoño II.; and the only proof of this was the inscription upon the fine fourteenth-century monument of the King which still stands in the aisle of the chevet behind the high altar:—

“Omnibus exemplum sit, quod venerabile templum
Rex dedit Ordonius, quo jacet ipse pius.
Hunc fecit sedem, quam primo fecerat ædem
Virginis hortatu, quæ fulget Pontificatu.
Pavit eam donis, per eam nitet urbs Legionis
Quesumus ergo Dei gratia parcat ei. Amen.”

Fortunately, however, in addition to the indubitable evidence of the building itself, there is sufficient documentary evidence to give with tolerable exactness the dates of the commencement and completion of the existing church, and I did not see, and believe there is not, a relic of the church which preceded it still remaining.

One or two facts of interest in regard to the first cathedral may, however, well be mentioned here. The architect is said by Sandoval to have been an Abbat; and in Ordoño II.'s absence he is said to have converted the old Roman baths in the palace into a church, the plan being similar to that of churches with three naves.¹ It is interesting to find this plan so popular in the eleventh and twelfth centuries, already described as existing in the ninth.²

Don Manrique, Bishop of Leon from A.D. 1181 to A.D. 1205, is said to have been the first founder of the present cathedral. The contemporary chronicler Don Lucas de Tuy speaks most positively on this point, and as he wrote his history in the convent of San Isidoro close by, it is difficult to dispute his testimony.³ How much he completed nowhere appears, though,

¹ See *Catalogo de los Obispos de Leon*, Cixila II.—*Esp. Sag.* xxxiv. 211.

² In a deed of the 20th March, A.D. 1175, mention is made of Pedro Cebrian, “*Maestro de la Obra de la Catedral*,” and of Pedro Gallego, “*Gobernador de las Torres*.” It is possible, of course, that Cebrian may have been the architect of the new cathedral if it was commenced between 1181 and 1205, but I do not believe that this was the case; and the real architect was, more probably, one who is thus mentioned in the book of Obits of the cathedral: “Eodem die VII. idus Julii, sub era MCCCXV. obiit Henricus, magister operis,” and who, dying in the year 1277, may well have designed the greater portion of the work. At a later date, in 1513, Juan de Badajoz was architect of the cathedral, and may probably have finished one of the steeples.—Cean Bermudez, *Arg. de España*, i. 37, 38.

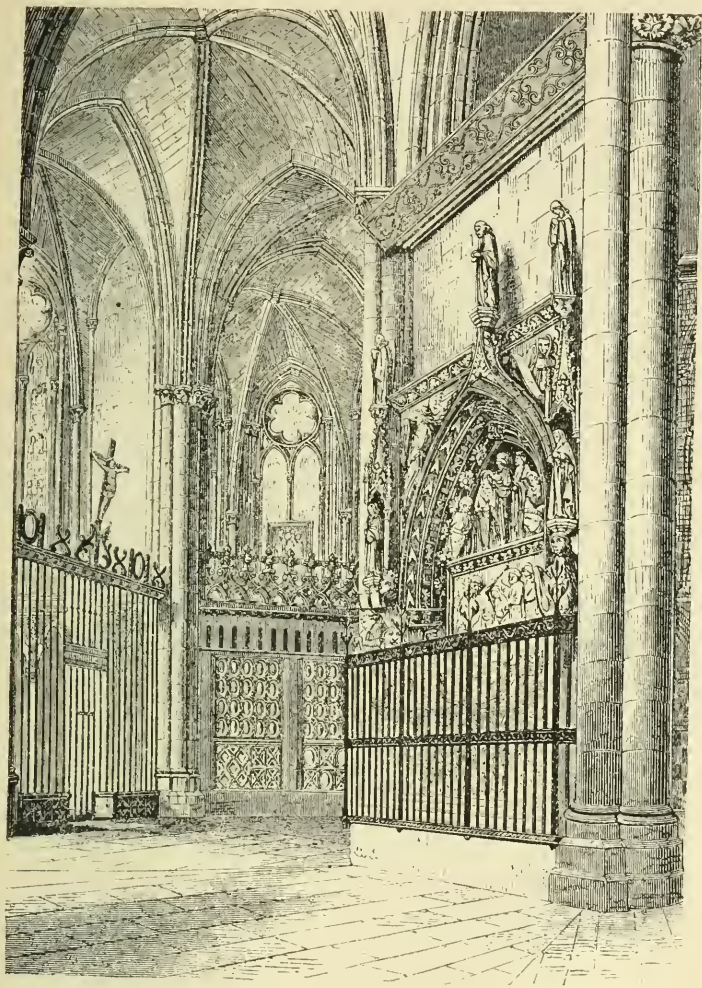
³ “Hoc tempore,” he says, “ampliata est fides Catholica in Hispania, et licet multi Regnum Legionense bellis impeterent, tamen Ecclesiæ regalibus muneribus ditatæ sunt in tantum, ut antiquæ destruerentur Ecclesiæ, quæ

judging by the style of the church, I should say it could have been but very little. Later than this, in A.D. 1258, during the episcopate of D. Martin Fernandez, a Junta of all the bishops of the kingdom of Leon was held at Madrid, at which the state of the fabric of the cathedral was discussed, and forty days of indulgence offered to those who made offerings towards the further promotion of the works.¹ Sixteen years later a council was held in Leon, and again the state of the fabric of the church was discussed and indulgence offered to those who gave alms for it.² Finally, in A.D. 1303, the Bishop Don Gonzalez gave back to the use of the Chapter a property which had been devoted to the work of the church, "because," he says, "the work is now done, thanks be to God." Nothing more clear on the face of it than this list of dates can be desired; yet, as frequently happens, when we come to compare them with the building itself, it is utterly impossible to believe in the most important part of it—the foundation, namely, of any part of the present church in the time of Bishop Manrique before the year 1205. I have elsewhere in this volume had occasion to show how much the Spaniards borrowed from the French in their architecture. Certain entire buildings, such as Burgos, Toledo, and Santiago, are distinctly derived from French churches, and in all cases are somewhat later in date than the French examples with which they most nearly correspond. If we apply this test to Leon it will be impossible to admit that any part of the existing church was built much before A.D. 1250. The church from beginning to end is thoroughly French; French in its detail, in its plan, and in its general design. And inasmuch as there is no long and regular sequence of Spanish buildings leading up step by step to the developed style which it exhibits, it is quite out of the

magnis sumptibus fuerant fabricata, et multo nobiliores et pulchriores in toto Regno Legionensi fundarentur. Tunc reverendus Episcopus Legionensis Manricus ejusdem Sedis Ecclesiam fundavit opere magno, sed eam ad perfectionem non duxit."

¹ "Cum igitur," they say, "ad fabricam Ecclesiæ Sanctæ Mariæ Legionensis, quæ de novo construitur, et magnis indiget sumptibus, propriæ non suppetant facultates, universitatem vestram rogamus,"—"quatenus de bonis vobis a Deo collatis eidem fabricæ pias eleemosynas de vestris facultatibus tribuatis, ut per hæc, et alia bona opera, quæ inspirante Deo feceritis, ad eterna possitis gaudia pervenire." This indulgence is preserved in the archives of the cathedral.—*España Sagrada*, xxxv. 269.

² "Cum igitur Ecclesia Beatæ Mariæ Legion. Sedis ædificetur de novo opere quamplurimum sumptuoso, et absque fidelium adminiculo non possit feliciter consummari, universitatem vestram monemus et exhortamur in Domino," etc., etc.; "ut per subventionem vestram, quod ibidem inceptum est, ad effectum optatum valeat pervenire," etc., given in the general Council of Leon, 10 Kal. Aug. A.D. 1273.—*España Sagrada*, xxxv. 270.



LEON CATHEDRAL

INTERIOR OF AISLE ROUND THE APSE

question to give it credit for an earlier existence than the corresponding French churches, in the history of which such steps are not wanting.

The churches which are nearest in style to Leon are, I think, the cathedrals at Amiens and Rheims, and perhaps the later part of S. Denis (1). Of these, Amiens was in building from A.D. 1220 to A.D. 1269, and Rheims from A.D. 1211 to A.D. 1241. But both are slightly earlier in their character than Leon. In all three the chapels of the apse are planned in the same way; that is to say, they are polygonal and not circular in their outlines, and the sections of the columns, the plans of the bases and capitals, and the detail of the arches and groining ribs are as nearly as may be the same; and in all these points the resemblance between them and Leon Cathedral is close and remarkable.

A similar conclusion will be arrived at if we pursue the inquiry from a different point, and compare this cathedral with other Spanish works of the date at which it is assumed to have been in progress. I can only suppose that Don Lucas de Tuy, when he spoke of Bishop Manrique's work at the cathedral, did so only from hearsay, or else that the work then commenced was subsequently completely removed to make way for the present building. Certainly in A.D. 1180-1200 all Spanish churches seem to have been built on a different plan, in a very much more solid fashion, and so that it would have been very difficult indeed to convert them into anything like the existing building. I venture to assume, therefore, that the scheme of Leon Cathedral was first made *circa* A.D. 1230-1240, and that the work had not progressed very far at the time the Junta of bishops was held in Madrid in A.D. 1258.

In plan¹ the cathedral consists of a nave and aisles of six bays, transepts, a choir of three bays, and chevet of five sides, with a surrounding aisle and pentagonal chapels beyond. There are two western towers, a large cloister on the north side, sacristies on the south-east, and a large chapel on the east side of the cloisters, with other buildings on their northern and western sides, arranged very much in the usual way; the chevet projects beyond the line of the old city wall, one of the towers of which is still left on the east side of the cloister. The city was long and narrow; and whilst the cathedral projects to the east of the wall, the church of San Isidoro has its western tower built out beyond the western face of the wall. There is not, however, here, as there is at Avila, any very distinct attempt to

¹ Plate V., p. 152.

fortify the chevet of the cathedral, otherwise than by forming passages, passing through the buttresses all round it, and by raising the windows high above the ground on the east.

There are doorways in all the three grand fronts, west, north, and south; but these shall be described further on. The columns throughout are cylindrical, with attached shafts on the cardinal sides, the groining-shafts towards the nave and choir being, however, triple, instead of single. In the apse the small shafts are not placed regularly round the main shaft, but their position is altered to suit the angles at which the arches are built. The same alteration of plan occurs in the chevet of Amiens, a work which was in progress about A.D. 1240, and to which, as I have said, the plan of this cathedral bears considerable resemblance.

The feature which most struck me in this cathedral was the wonderful lightness which characterises its construction in every part. The columns of the nave are of moderate size, and the arches which they carry very thin, whilst the large and lofty clerestory, and the triforium below it, were both pierced to such an extent as to leave a pier to receive the groining smaller than I think I ever saw elsewhere in so large a church. There are double flying buttresses, one above the other, and the architect trusted, no doubt, that the weight of the groining would be carried down through them to such an extent as to make it safe to venture on as much as he did. Moreover, he was careful to economise the weight where possible; and with this view he filled in the whole of his vaults with a very light tufa, obtained from the mountains to the north of Leon.¹ In short, when this cathedral was planned, its architect must either have resolved that it should exceed all others in the slender airiness of its construction, or he must have been extremely incautious if not reckless. It is not a little curious that in France, at the same time, the same attempt was being made, and with the like result. The architect of Beauvais, unable to surpass the majestic combination of stable loftiness with beauty of form which characterised the rather earlier work at Amiens, tried instead to excel him alike in height, and in lightness of construction. No one can pretend that he was an incompetent man, yet his work was so imprudently daring, that it was impossible to avoid a catastrophe; and we now have it rebuilt, to some extent in the same

¹ So, at least, I was assured by the superintendent of the works at the cathedral. Some of the material I saw was no doubt tufa; but some of it seemed to me to be an exceedingly light kind of concrete. The vaulting of Salisbury Cathedral is similarly constructed. I do not know whether at Beauvais the same expedient was adopted to lessen the weight.

design after its fall, but with so many additional points of support as very much to spoil its symmetry and beauty. Here, then, we have an exactly parallel case: for at Leon, no sooner was the church completed than it became necessary to build up the outer lights, both of the clerestory and triforium, to save the work from the same misfortune (2). Nor was the precaution altogether successful, for, owing almost entirely to the over-hazardous nature of the whole construction, the south transept had recently, it is said, become so dangerously rent with cracks and settlements as to render it absolutely necessary to rebuild it; and the groining throughout the church shows signs of failure everywhere, and this of serious, if not of so fatal a character.

At the risk of repetition, I cannot help saying how strongly this parallel between Beauvais and Leon tells in favour of the assumption that its origin was rather French than Spanish. For in Spain there were no other churches at the time it was built from which a Spanish architect could have made such a sudden development as this design would have been. The steps by which it would have been attained are altogether wanting, and yet in France we have every step, and, finally, results of precisely the same kind. Both at an earlier and at a later date, when Spaniards made use of their own school of architects, they developed for themselves certain classes of churches, unlike, in some respects, to those of any other country. Here, however, we have an exotic, which, like the cathedral at Burgos, is evidently the work of some artist who had at least been educated among the architects of the north of France, if he was not himself a Frenchman. The proof of this is to be found more perhaps at S. Denis than anywhere, for there the section of the mouldings of the clerestory windows, as well as their general design, tallies so closely with the same parts of Leon Cathedral that it is almost impossible to doubt their common origin.

One other feature not yet insisted upon affords strong evidence in the same direction. This cathedral is a mere lantern, it has scarcely a yard of plain unpierced wall anywhere, and the main thought of its architect was evidently how he might increase to the utmost extent the size of the windows, and the spaces for the glorious glass with which he contrived to fill the church. No greater fault could be committed in such a climate. This lavish indulgence in windows would have been excessive even in England, and must have always been all but insupportable in Spain. It was the design of French and not Spanish artists, for in their own undoubted works these last always wisely

reduced their windows to the smallest possible dimensions. The cathedral at Milan is a case of the same kind, for there a German architect, called to build a church in a foreign land, built it with as many windows as he would have put had it been in his own country, and with a similar contempt for the customs of the national architects to that which marks the work of the architect of Leon Cathedral.

Regarding this cathedral, then, as a French, rather than as a Spanish church, and giving up all attempt to make it illustrate a chapter of the real national artistic history, we shall best be able to do justice to it as a work of art. It is, indeed, in almost every respect worthy to be ranked among the noblest churches of Europe. Its detail is rich and beautiful throughout, its plan very excellent, the sculpture with which it is adorned quite equal in quantity and character to that of any church of the age, and the stained glass with which its windows are everywhere filled, perhaps some of the most brilliant in Europe.

There are many features in its construction and design which must be referred to somewhat in detail, and to this part of my subject I must now turn.

I have already mentioned that the triforium throughout the church was originally glazed. In order to obtain this the aisles were covered with gabled roofs, whose ridges were parallel with the nave; and in order to allow of this being done a stone gutter was formed below the sills of the clerestory windows, and below this again corbels were built into the wall to carry the aisle roofs; cross gutters also of stone were carried through the roof in each bay from the clerestory gutter to the outer wall of the aisles. I cannot say that the effect of this arrangement is good. The eye seems to require some grave space of wall between the main arches and the glazing of the clerestory; and it is difficult to say on what ground the triforium is to be treated as a separate architectural division of the fabric, when it is in truth, as it is here, nothing more than a prolongation of the clerestory.

The flying buttresses are rather steep in pitch, and each consists of two arches abutting against very broad buttresses rising from between the side chapels; the lower arch supports the clerestory just at the level of the springing of the groining; the higher a few feet only below the parapet. Two pinnacles rise out of each of the buttresses, and others form a finish to them all round the clerestory, and at the angles of the chapels of the apse.

The windows throughout have good traceries. They are all of pure geometrical character; those in the chapels of the choir being of two lights, with large cusped circles in the head, and those in the clerestory of four lights, subdivided into two divisions, similar to the chapel windows, with another cusped circle above. The heads of the lights throughout the windows are uncusped, the cusping being confined to the traceries. The clerestory windows originally had six lights, but the outer lights were rather clumsy additions to the original scheme for four-light windows, and have since been walled up, to give the necessary strength to the groining piers. The general arrangement of the traceries in this part of the church will be best understood by reference to the engraving which I give of one bay of the choir.



BAY OF CHOIR, LEON CATHEDRAL

The stone-work of all the window traceries was very carefully cramped together with strong toothed iron plugs let into the centre of the stones, and the masons seem, in many cases, to have marked the beds and not the face of the stones. Indeed, the early masons' marks are but few in number, and most of those that I saw occurred at the base of the eastern walls, and again in the upper portion of the work. On the late, and thoroughly Spanish chapel of Santiago also, a good many occur

on the outer face of the stones. Owing to the works which were in progress in the south transept, I had an unusually good opportunity of looking for these marks, not only on the face

of the stones, but also on their beds, and their almost entire absence from the early work was very remarkable. On the other hand, there were markings on some of the other stones which were of much more interest. I found, for instance, one of the large stones forming the capital of the pier at the crossing of the nave and transepts, carefully marked, first with an outline of the whole of the jamb mould, then with the lines of the capital, and finally with the whole of the archivolt. It had all the air of being the practical working drawing used for the execution of the work, some little alterations having been made in the archivolt. It is easy to conceive that the architect may thus have designed his details, and his mode bears considerable analogy to that which M. Verdier describes as having been adopted at Limoges, where the lines of the groining and all the working outlines were scratched on the floor of the triforia; here the lines are scratched boldly on the surface of the stones.

The walls throughout the church were built of rubble, faced with wrought stone inside and out, and some of the failures in the work are attributable, no doubt, to the want of strength and bond of this kind of walling.

The dimensions of the various parts are about as follows:—

Total internal length	300 feet.
„ width of nave and aisles	83 feet.
Height to springing of main arches	25 feet 6 inches.
„ floor of triforium	46 feet.
„ centre of groining about	100 feet.

These dimensions, though not to be compared to those of many of the French churches, are still very noble, and would place this among the finest of our own buildings in respect of height; but, like all Spanish, and most French churches, the length is not very grand.

The various views of the exterior are fine, but everywhere the height of the clerestory appears to be rather excessive. This is seen even at the west end, where a little management might easily have prevented it. But the two steeples standing beyond the aisles leave a narrow vertical chasm between their side walls and those of the clerestory, which is brought out, without any break in its outline by means of buttresses, quite to the west front. The lower part of these steeples is perfectly plain; each has a sort of double belfry stage, and they are both finished with low spires—that on the south pierced with open traceries,

and that on the north simply crocketed; both of them are somewhat ungainly, of very late date, and not sufficiently lofty or important for the church to which they are attached.

The grand feature of the west front is the beautiful porch which extends all across, forming three grand archways, corresponding with the nave and aisles, with smaller and extremely pointed arches between them. These arches are all supported on clustered shafts, standing away between four and five feet from the main wall, in which the doorways are set. Statues are set on corbels round the detached shafts, and again in the jambs of all the doorways, and the tympana and archivolts of the latter are everywhere crowded with sculpture. An open parapet is carried all across the front above the porch, and above this the west end is pierced with a row of four windows corresponding with the triforium, and again, above, by a very large and simple wheel-window. The finish of the west front is completely modernised, with a seventeenth-century gable between two pinnacles.

The sculpture of the western doors well deserves description and illustration. It is charming work, of precisely the same character as the best French work of the latter half of the thirteenth century, and there is a profusion of it.

The central west door has in the tympanum our Lord seated, with angels, and S. John and the Blessed Virgin worshipping on either side. Below is the Last Judgment, the side of the Blessed being as pretty and interesting as anything I have seen. A youth sits at a small organ playing sweet songs to those who go to Paradise; and a king, going jauntily, and as if of right, towards S. Peter, is met by a grave person, who evidently tells him that he must depart to the other and sadder side. The three orders of the arch are filled with the resurrection of the dead, angels taking some, and devils others, as they rise from their graves—the whole mixed very indiscriminately. On the central shaft is a statue of the Blessed Virgin and our Lord, now with wretched taste dressed up and enclosed in a glass case, to the great damage of the whole doorway.

The north-west doorway has its tympanum divided in three horizontal lines. The lower compartment has the Salutation, the Nativity, an Angel, and the Shepherds; the middle the Magi adoring our Lord in the Blessed Virgin's arms, and the Flight into Egypt; and the upper, the Massacre of the Innocents. The arch of this door is elliptic, and the space between it and the tympanum is filled with figures of angels with crowns

and censers, playing an organ and other instruments, and singing from books. The meaning of the sculpture in the archivolt was not clear to me, and seemed to refer to some legend (4).

The south-west doorway has the tympanum divided as the last, and in the lower compartment the death of the Blessed Virgin; next to this our Lord and the Blessed Virgin seated; and above, angels putting a crown on her head. The archivolt here is adorned with one order of sitting figures of saints and two of angels (5).

The east end is more striking than the west. It retains almost all its old features intact, save that the roof is now very flat, and covered with pantiles, whereas it is probable that at first it was of a steep pitch. It stands up well above the sort of boulevard which passes under its east end, and when seen from a little further off, the steeples of the western end group well with it, and, to some extent, compensate for the loss of the old roofing line.

The south transept had been entirely taken down when I was at Leon, and the sculpture of its three doorways was lying on the floor of the church. It is of the same fine character as that of the western doors; the central door has a figure of our Lord with the emblems of the Evangelists on either side, and beyond them the Evangelists themselves writing at desks. Below this are the twelve Apostles seated, and the several orders of the archivolt are carved with figures of angels holding candles, sculptures of vine and other leaves, and crowned figures playing on musical instruments. The south-west door of the transept has no sculpture of figures, but the favourite diapers of fleur-de-llys and castles, and lions and castles, and an order of foliage arranged in the French fashion, *à crochet*. The south-east door has in its tympanum the death of the Blessed Virgin, with angels in the archivolt holding candles. The gable of this transept seems to have been very much altered by some Renaissance architect before it was taken down (6).

The north transept has two doorways, only one of which is now open. This has a figure of our Lord seated within a vesica, supported by angels, and the archivolt has figures of saints with books (7). The jambs have—like all the other door-jambs—statues under canopies, and below them the common diaper of lions and castles. The closed north-west door of this transept now forms a reredos for an altar; it has no sculpture of figures.

The north transept doorway opens into a groined aisle which occupies the space between the transept and the cloister. This aisle is very dark, and opens at its eastern end into the chapel of Santiago, a fine late building of the age of Ferdinand and Isabella, running north and south, and showing its side elevation in the general view of the east end to the north of the choir.

The cloister is so mutilated as to have well-nigh lost all its architectural value. The entrance to the porch in front of the north transept is, however, in its old state; it is a fine doorway, richly and delicately carved with small subjects enclosed in quatrefoils. The original groining shafts, which still remain, show that the whole cloister was built early in the fourteenth century; the traceries, however, have all been destroyed; and the groining, the outer walls, and buttresses altered with vast trouble and cost into a very poor and weak kind of Renaissance. But if the cloister has lost much of its architectural interest, it is still full of value from another point of view, containing as it does one of the finest series of illustrations of the New Testament that I have ever seen, remaining in each bay of the cloister all the way round. These subjects begin to the east of the doorway to the north transept, and are continued round in regular order till they finish on its western side. I have not been able to learn anything as to the history of these works. If they are Spanish, they prove the existence of a school of painters of rare excellence here, for they are all more or less admirable in their drawing, in the expression of the faces, and in the honesty and simplicity with which they tell their story. The colours, too, where they are still visible, are pure and good, and the whole looked to me like the work of some good Florentine artist of about the middle of the fifteenth century (8). It would not be a little curious to find the King or Bishop of Leon not only sending to France for his architect, but to Tuscany for his wall-painter, and, if it be the fact, it would show how firm must have been the resolve to make this church as perfect as possible in every respect, and how little dependence was then placed on native talent.

The subjects represented are the following, each painting filling the whole of the upper part of the wall in each bay of the cloister:—

1. The Birth of the Blessed Virgin (9).
2. Her Marriage.
3. The Annunciation.
- 4, 5, 6. Destroyed.

7. Massacre of the Innocents, and Herod giving orders for it.
- 8, 9. Destroyed.
10. The Blessed Virgin Mary seated with our Lord, angels above, and three figures with nimbi sitting and adoring, others with musical instruments.
11. The Baptism of our Lord.
12. Destroyed.
13. An ass and its foal, Jerusalem in the background, and indistinct groups of figures.
14. Our Lord riding into Jerusalem. The city has circular towers all round, and churches with two western octagonal steeples.
15. The Last Supper.
16. Our Lord washing the Disciples' feet; some figures on the right carrying water-jars are drawn with extreme grace.
17. Destroyed.
18. The Betrayal.
19. Our Lord bound and stripped, and,
20. Scourged. (These two subjects are very finely treated.)
21. Brought to the Place of Judgment: desks with open books on them in front.
22. Buffeted and spit upon.
23. Judged: Pilate washing his hands.
24. Bearing the Cross. (This subject is painted round and over a monument on which is the date XXIII. October, A.D. MCCCCXL.; so that it must be of later date than this.)
25. Nailed to the Cross: the Cross on the ground.
26. The Descent from the Cross.
- 27, 28. The Descent into Hell (10).
29. The Incredulity of S. Thomas, and the appearance of our Lord on the way to Emmaus.
30. The Ascension.
31. The Descent of the Holy Ghost.

It will be noticed that the Crucifixion is most remarkably omitted from this series. There is no place on the wall for it, and it occurred to me as possible that there may have been a crucifix in the centre of the cloister, round which all these paintings were, so to speak, grouped.¹

There are several fine monuments in these cloisters, some of them corbelled out from the wall, and some with recumbent

¹ The three crucifixes at the entrance to the cemetery at Nuremberg will be remembered by all who have ever seen them; and such a group would have made a fitting centre for such a cloister as this at Leon.

effigies under arches in it. One of the latter is so fine in its way as to deserve special notice. The arch is of two orders, each sculptured with figures of angels worshipping and censuring our Lord, who is seated in the tympanum of the arch holding a book and giving His blessing. Below, on a high tomb, is the effigy recumbent; and behind it, below the tympanum, two angels bearing up the soul of the departed. The sculpture is admirable for its breadth and simplicity of treatment; and the monument generally is noticeable for the extent to which sculpture, and sculpture only, has been depended on, the strictly architectural features being few and completely subordinate.

The cloister is surrounded by buildings, some of which only are ancient. On the north side are the chapel of San Juan de Regla, another chapel, and the Chapter-house. The latter has one of those foolish Spanish conceits, a doorway planned obliquely to the wall in which it is set.¹

In the church itself there are several very fine monuments. The most elaborate is that of Ordoño II., the original founder of the old cathedral, which occupies the eastern bay of the apse, with its back to the high altar. This is sometimes spoken of as if it were a contemporary work. It is, however, obviously a work of the fourteenth century, and recalls to mind some of the finest monuments in our own churches. The effigy of the king, laid on a sloping stone, so that it looks out from the monumental arch, is singularly noble, very simple, of great size and uncommon dignity. The general design of this fine monument will be seen in my view of the aisle round the choir.

Another monument in the north transept has a semi-circular arch carved alternately with bosses of foliage and censuring angels; and within this a succession of cusps, the spandrels of which have also angels. The tympanum has a representation of the Crucifixion;² and below this, in an oblong panel just over the recumbent figure, is a representation of the service at a funeral. The side of the high tomb has also an interesting sculpture representing a figure giving a dole of bread to a crowd of poor and maimed people, whilst others bring him large baskets full of bread on their backs. The date in the inscription on this monument is Era 1280, *i.e.* A.D. 1242.

In a corresponding position in the west wall of the south

¹ This conceit is illustrated more elaborately than I have elsewhere seen it in a palace near San Isidoro, where the angle windows are designed and executed in a sort of perspective, which is inexpressibly bad in effect.

² *Not* a crucifix.

transept is another monument of a bishop, recessed behind three divisions of the arcade which surrounds the walls of the church. The effigy is rather colossal, and has a lion at the head, and another under the feet. Over the effigy is a group of figures saying the burial office; and above, in panels within arches, are: (1) S. Martin dividing his Cloak; (2) the Scourging of our Lord, and (3) the Crucifixion. The soffits of the arcade are diapered, and there were three subjects below the figure of the bishop, but they are now nearly destroyed.

The arches round the Capilla mayor were walled up, and those on either side of the monument of Ordoño II., already described, still retain the paintings with which they were all once adorned. They are of the same class as those in the cloister, and one of them, a large Ecce Homo, is certainly a very fine work. Unfortunately the figure of our Lord in the centre has been very badly repainted, but the troop of soldiers and Jews reviling Him on either side is full of life and expression (11).

The choir occupies the two eastern bays of the nave, and its woodwork is fine, though of late fifteenth-century date. There are large figures in bas-relief, carved in the panels behind the stalls. There is a western door from the nave into the Coro; and in part on this account, and in part from its considerable scale, the nave has less than usual of the air of uselessness which the Spanish arrangement of the Coro produces.

I have already incidentally mentioned that the windows are full of fine stained glass. It is all of the richest possible colour, and most of it of about the same date as the church. Modern critics would, no doubt, object to some of the drawing for its rudeness and want of accuracy. Yet to me this work seemed to be a most emphatic proof—if any were needed—that we who talk so much about drawing are altogether wrong in our sense of the office which stained glass has to fulfil in our buildings. We talk glibly about good drawing, and forget altogether the much greater importance of good colour. At Leon the drawing is forgotten altogether, and I defy any one to be otherwise than charmed with the glories of the effect created solely by the colour. At present in England our glass is all but invariably bad—nay, contemptible—in colour; whilst the so-called good drawing is usually a miserable attempt to reproduce some sentimentality of a German painter. Two schools might well be studied a little more than they are; the one should be this early school of rich colourists, and the other the beautiful works of the sixteenth and seventeenth century French glass-painters, where

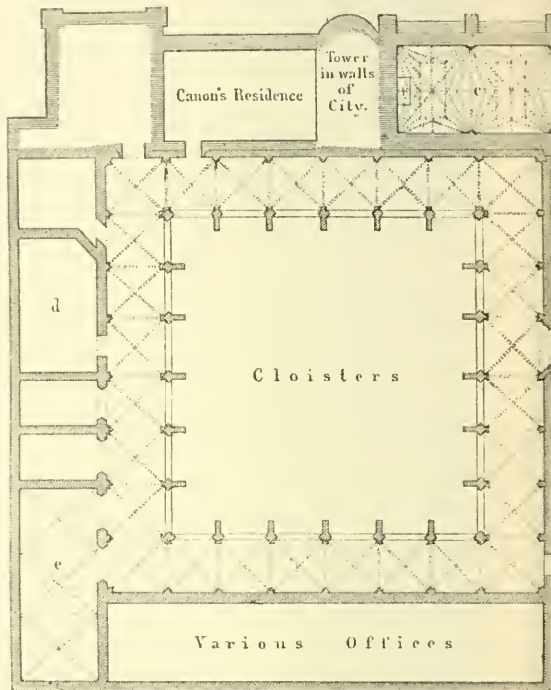
LEON: - Ground Plan of Cathedral &c:

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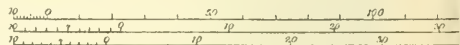
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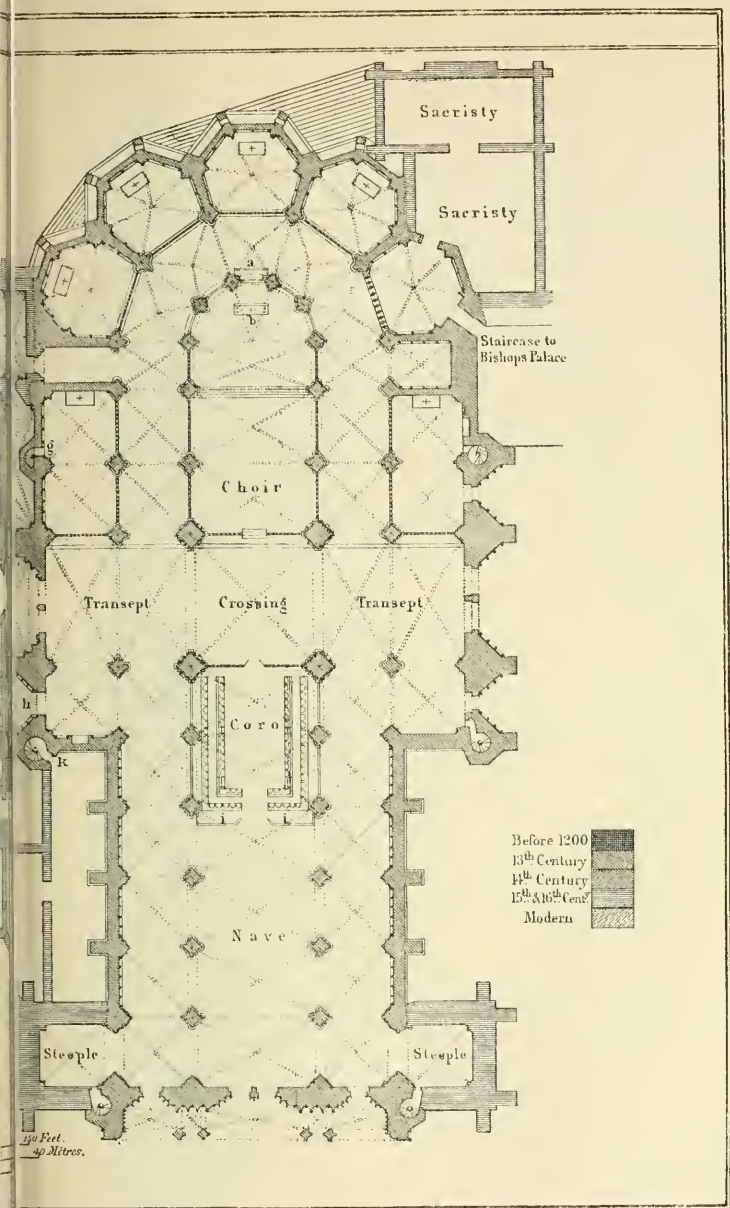
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Masons Marks.



- a. Tomb of Ordoño II.
- b. High Altar.
- c. Chapel of Santiago.
- d. Chapter House.
- e. Chapel of San Juan de Regla.
- f. Chapel of Santa Teresa.
- g. Staircase "del Infierno".
- h. Old Doorway blocked up.
- i. Modern Screen.





there is good drawing enough for any one, and generally great beauty and simplicity of colour. Finally, two practices might be suggested to our stained-glass painters—one, that they should only use good, and therefore costly glass; and the other, that they should limit their palettes to a few pure and simple colours, instead of confusing our eyes with every possible tint of badly-chosen and cheaply-made glass.

If we want religious pictures in our churches—as we do most surely—let us go to painters for them, and, with the money now in great part thrown away on stained glass, we might then have some works of art in our churches of which we might have more chance of feeling proud, and for which our successors would perhaps thank us more than they will for our glass.¹

I have detained my readers only too long, I fear, upon this cathedral, but it is too full of interest of all kinds to allow of shorter notice, and is, in its way, the finest church of which Spain can boast; at the same time the work is all so thoroughly French as to destroy, to some degree, the interest which we should otherwise feel in it.

The other great architectural attraction of Leon is the church of San Isidoro "*el Real*." This is altogether earlier than, and has therefore an interest entirely different from, that of the cathedral.

Gil Gonzalez Dávila says that the church was founded in A.D. 1030,² by Ferdinand I., the Great. An inscription in the floor of the church gives the name of its architect;³ and from the mention of Alonso VI., who came to the throne in A.D. 1065, and his mother Sancha, who died in A.D. 1067, the date of his death must have been between these two periods.⁴ In A.D. 1063 King Ferdinand—Alfonso's father—and Queen Sancha had very richly endowed the church, in the presence of various bishops, who had come together to celebrate the translation of the remains of San Isidoro.⁵ Finally Dávila, in his History of the Cathedral

¹ Witness Mr. E. Burne Jones's beautiful picture over the altar of S. Paul, Brighton, and Mr. D. G. Rossetti's at Llandaff.

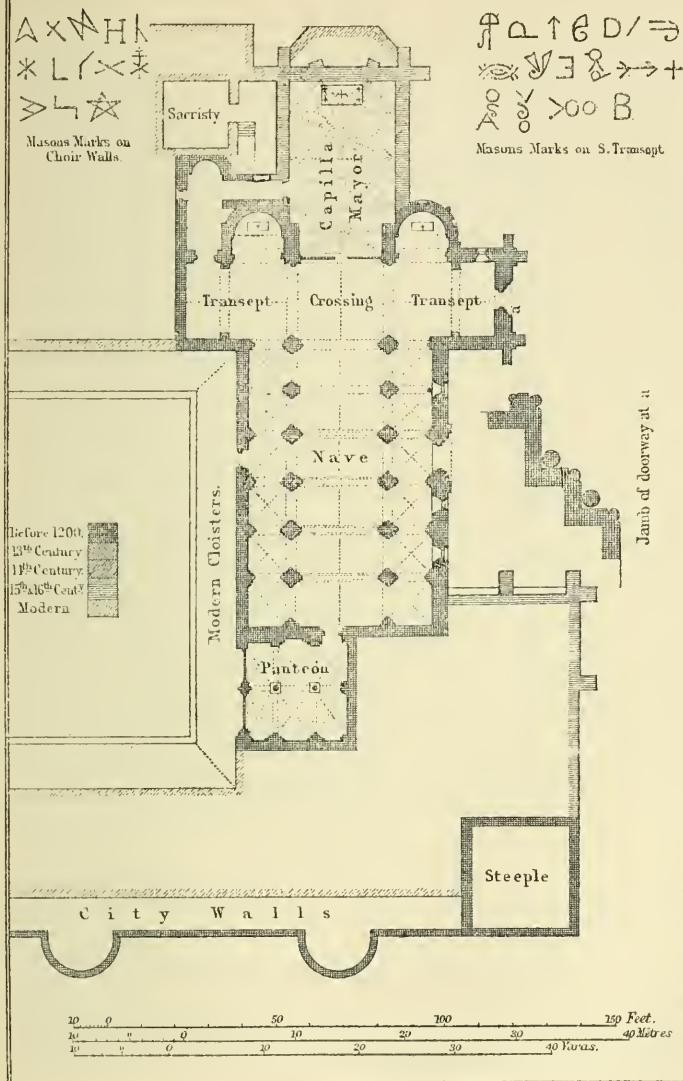
² *Teatro Ecclesiastico*, i. 365.

³ "Hic requiescit Petrus de Deo, qui superædificavit Ecclesiam hanc. Iste fundavit pontem, qui dicitur de Deus tamen: et quia erat vir miræ abstinentiæ et multis florebat miraculis, omnes eum laudibus prædicabant. Sepultus est hic ab Imperatore Adefonso et Sancia Regina."—*Esp. Sag.* xxxv. 356. G. G. Dávila, *Teatro Eccles.* i. 340. Dávila adds the words "servus Dei" before the name of the architect.

⁴ See Cean Bermudez, *Arg. de Esp.* i. 14.

⁵ The whole of this deed of endowment is interesting. I quote a few lines only, which have some interest, as bearing, among other things, on the Gothic crowns found at Guarrazar, and mentioned at p. 302. "Offeri-

LEON:—Ground Plan of Church of San Ysidoro:



at Avila, gives the date of the consecration of the church, from a deed in the archives there, as A.D. 1149.¹

From these statements it would seem that the church was fit for the reception of the body of San Isidoro in A.D. 1065, and had then three altars; and yet that in A.D. 1149 it was consecrated, though indeed Ponz speaks of an inscription in the cloister which mentions the *dedication* of the church in A.D. 1063.²

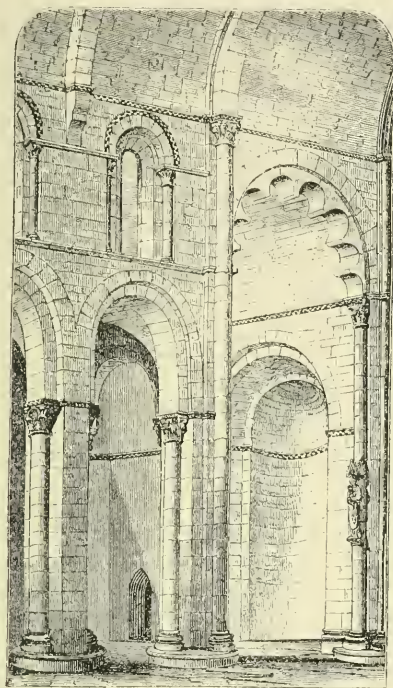
San Isidoro was one of the most popularly venerated saints in Spain, and many are the miracles said to have been wrought by him. One of them is not a little suggestive of plans for church-building, not a whit behind the cleverest schemes of the present day. It is said that in a time when much sickness prevailed, the body of the saint was taken out in procession to a village near Leon, Trobajo del Camino, the bearers of the body barefooted, and all singing hymns, in order to charm away the disease from the people. Suddenly the weight became so great that it was impossible to move or lift the saint, even by the aid of a strong body of men: and many complained not a little of the Canons for bringing the body out on such an errand, whilst the King, who was at Benavente, was so incensed, that he insisted, as the saint would not move, that they should build a church over him for his protection; and at last came the Queen, grieving bitterly, appealing to "her beloved spouse" San Isidoro, and saying, "Turn, O blessed confessor! turn again to the monastery of Leon, which my forefathers, out of their devotion, built for you;" and then the saint, moved by her prayer, allowed himself to be borne back upon the shoulders of four children, who brought him back to Leon amid the rejoicings of the people: and these, moved by the miracle, at once built a chapel on the spot which the saint had marked out for the purpose by his pertinacious refusal to move until the King had ordered it to be built, and until the Queen had shown how deep was her interest in the work.

But I must not dwell longer on what is merely legendary, *mus igitur* "ornamenta altariorum: id est, frontale ex auro puro opere digno cum lapidibus smaragdis, safiris, et omnia genere pretiosis et olivitreis: alios similiter tres frontales argenteos singulis altaribus: Coronas tres aureas: una ex his cum sex alfis in gyro, et corona de Alaules intus in ea pendens: alia est de anemnates cum olivitreo, aurea. Tertia vero est diadema capitis mei," etc., etc.—*Esp. Sag.* xxxvi., appendix, p. clxxxix.

¹ "Sub era millesima centesima octuagesima septima, pridie nonas Martii, facta est Ecclesia Sancti Isidori consecrata per manus Raymundi Toletanæ Sedis Archiepiscopi, et Joannis Legionensis episcopi," etc. etc.—*Teatro Eccl.* vol. ii. 243. See also the similar inscription on a stone in San Isidoro.—*Esp. Sag.* xxxv. 207.

² Ponz, *Viage de España*, xi. 234.

but return to this church of San Isidoro at Leon. It is cruciform in plan,¹ with apsidal chapels on the eastern side of the transepts. The nave and aisles are of six bays in length, and there is a tower detached to the west. There is a chapel dedicated to Sta. Catalina (now called *El Panteon*) at the north-west end of



INTERIOR OF S. ISIDORO

the church, and a choir of the sixteenth century takes the place of the original apse. The whole of the nave is vaulted with a waggon-vault, with transverse ribs under it in each bay; and this vault is continued on without break to the chancel arch, there being no lantern at the crossing. The arches into the transepts have a fringe of cusping on their under sides, which has a very Moorish air, and the transepts are vaulted with waggon-

¹ Plate VI., p. 155.

vaults, but at a lower level than the nave. The chapels to the east of the transept are roofed with semi-domes. The nave has bold columns, with richly sculptured capitals, stilted semi-circular arches, and a clerestory of considerable height, with large windows of rich character.

The whole interior of the church has been picked out in white and brown washes to such an extent, that at first sight its effect is positively repulsive: nevertheless, its detail is very fine. The capitals are all richly sculptured, generally with foliage arranged after the model of the Corinthian capital; but some of them *historiés* with figures of men and beasts; and I noticed one only with pairs of birds looking at each other. The western part of the church is abominably modernised, but the alterations in the fabric evidently commenced at a very early period, for in the south aisle one of the groining-shafts is carried up exactly in front of what appears to be one of the original aisle windows (12). I confess myself quite at a loss to account for this, unless it be by the assumption that the church, consecrated in A.D. 1149, was commenced on the same type as S. Sernin, Toulouse—copied, as we shall see further on, at Santiago—and that before the consecration the original triforium had been altered into a clerestory by the alteration of the aisle-roofs and the introduction of quadripartite vaulting in them at a lower level, thus necessitating the introduction of the groining-shaft in front of a window. The difficulty did not occur to me forcibly when I was on the spot, and I am unable to say, therefore, how far a thoroughly close examination of the work would clear it up. It might of course be said that such an alteration proves that the church was of two periods; and such an opinion would be to some extent supported by reference to the certainly early character of the south door, which might have been executed before A.D. 1063. But I am, on the whole, disposed rather to regard the chapel of Sta. Catalina as the original church, and to assume that the remainder of the building was built between A.D. 1063 and A.D. 1149, and that the awkward arrangement to which I have just referred was, in fact, the result of some accident or change of plan. This supposition would reconcile more satisfactorily all the difficulties of the case than any other, and would tally well with what I have been able to learn as to the history of the church. The body of San Isidoro was sent for rather suddenly, and brought from Seville, and the King had but short time for the preparation of the building for its reception. Two years later the body of San Vicente was brought from Avila, and no doubt the popularity

of the two saints soon made it necessary to enlarge the church. Then it might well happen that the old church was left in its integrity, and the new building added to the east, but with its north wall in a line with the north wall of the old one, so as to allow of the cloister being built along their sides, and without at all disturbing the early church or its relics. The relative position of the churches makes it probable, in short, that the large church was added to the small one, and not that the latter was a chapel added to the former (13).

The style of the two buildings leads to the same conclusion, for in Sta. Catalina we have a small, low, vaulted church, two bays only in length and three in width. The two detached columns which carry the vaults are cylindrical, with capitals of somewhat the same kind as those in the church, but simpler and ruder. Recessed arches in the side walls contain various tombs of the Royal Family, who for ages, from the time of Fernando I. and Doña Sancha his queen, have been buried here; and the very circumstance that this little chapel was selected for the burial of so many royal persons, seems to make it extremely probable that it was the very chapel in which the body of San Isidoro had first been laid.

The door of communication from the chapel to the church has an arch of the same kind as the transept arches, semi-circular and fringed with several cusps; and the chapel is now lighted by two open arches on the north side, which communicate with the cloister. The groining is all quadripartite, without ribs, but with plain bold transverse arches between the bays.

The exterior of the church has some features which have all the air of being very early and original in their character. Such is the grand south doorway of the nave. Its arch is semi-circular, and above it the spandrels are filled with sculpture. Above this is a line of panels containing the signs of the Zodiac; below are figures with musical instruments; and below these again, on the west, is a figure of San Isidoro, and on the right a figure of a woman, I think, book in hand, both of them supported on corbels formed of the heads of oxen. The tympanum itself is divided into two parts, the lower half being surmounted by a flat pediment, and the upper filling up the space from this to the *intrados* of the arch. The upper half has an Agnus Dei in a circle in the centre, and the lower half has Abraham's sacrifice, with figures on horseback on either side. The head of the opening of the doorway is finished with a square trefoil, under which rams' heads are carved. The whole detail of

this sculpture is very unlike that of most of the early work I have seen in Spain; the figures are round and flabby, and badly arranged, and very free from any of the usual conventionality. All this made me feel much inclined to think that the execution of this work was at an early date, and soon after the first consecration of the church.

The elevation of the south transept is rather fine. It has a doorway, now blocked, with a figure against the wall on either side, standing between the label and a second label built into the wall from buttress to buttress. Above this is a rich corbel-table, and then an arcade of three divisions, of which the centre is pierced as a window; in the gable is another statue standing against the wall. The doorway has its opening finished with a square trefoil, and the tympanum is plain. The design of the apsidal chapel east of the apse is so precisely like the eastern apsidal chapels of many of the Spanish Romanesque churches,¹ that its date must, to some extent, be decided by theirs: and it may well be doubted whether it can be much earlier than *circa* A.D. 1150, though the lower part of the south transept appeared to me to be as early as the south door, or at any rate not later than A.D. 1100.

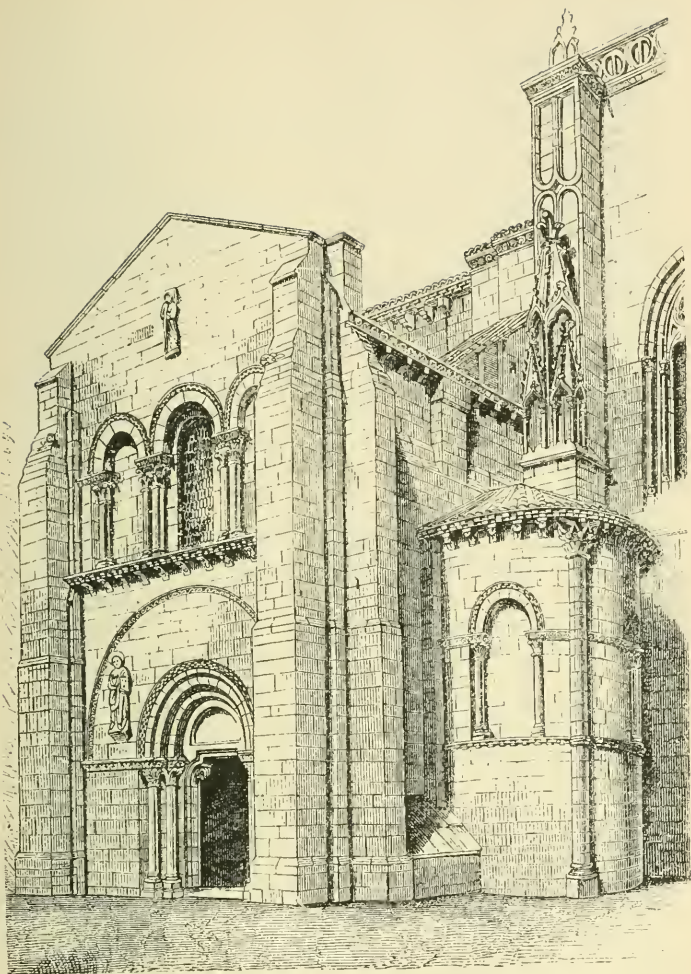
The walls are all carried up high above the clerestory windows, and finished with corbel-tables, carved with a billet-mould on the edge, and carried on corbels moulded, not carved. Simple buttresses divide the bays of the clerestory.

The choir, as has been said, was a late addition in place of the original Romanesque apse. It was built in A.D. 1513, or a little after, by Juan de Badajoz, master of the works at the cathedral.² It is of debased Gothic design and coarse detail, but large and lofty. The groining at the east end is planned as if for an apse, and portions of diagonal buttresses, to resist the thrust of the groining ribs, are built against the east wall, in the way often to be noticed in the later Spanish buildings. The east window was of two lights only, and is now blocked up by the Retablo. In this church there is a perpetual exposition of the Host, and the choir is therefore screened off with more than usual care, none but the clergy being allowed to enter it. At Lugo, where there is also a similar exposition, the choir is left open, but two priests are always sitting or kneeling before faldstools in front of the altar.

I could not gain admission to the cloister on the north side of

¹ *E.g.* Segovia, Avila, Salamanca, Benavente, Lérida.

² So, at least, says Cean Bermudez, but without giving his authority.



SAN ISIDORO, LEON
SOUTH TRANSEPT

the church; it is large and all modernised, and surrounded by the buildings of the monastery, which is now suppressed. A chapel dedicated to the Holy Trinity was founded here in A.D. 1191, and a list of the relics preserved at its altar is given on a stone preserved in the convent.

The chapel of Sta. Catalina, already described, is specially interesting on account of the remarkable paintings with which the whole of the groining is covered. These all appeared to me to have been certainly executed at the end of the twelfth century, *circa* A.D. 1180-1200, and they are remarkably rich in their foliage decoration, as well as in painting of figures and subjects. Beginning with the eastern central compartment, over the altar, and going round to the right, the subjects in the six bays of the vault are as follows:—

(I.) In this our Lord is seated in a vesica, at the angles of which are four angels, with the heads of the four Evangelists, with their books and names painted beside them. Our Lord's feet are to the east, and He holds an open book and gives His blessing.

(II.) The angel speaking to the shepherds, with the inscription, "*Angelus a pastores.*"

(III.) The Massacre of the Innocents.

(IV.) The Last Supper, painted without the slightest regard to the angles formed by the groining, and as if the vault were a flat surface.

(V.) *a.* Herod washing his hands.

b. S. Peter denying our Lord.

c. Our Lord bearing his Cross.

d. The Crucifixion (this is almost destroyed).

(VI.) Our Lord seated with His feet to the west; the seven churches around Him, seven candles, and an angel giving the book to S. John.

The soffits of the cross arches between the vaults are painted, some with foliage, others with figures. Of the latter, one has the twelve Apostles, another the Holy Spirit in the centre, with angels worshipping on either side, and a third a Hand blessing (inscribed "*Dextra Dei*") in centre, and saints on either side. The whole detail of the painted foliage is of thoroughly good conventional character, and just in the transitional style from Romanesque to Pointed (14).

There is a fine steeple detached from the church to the west. It stands on the very edge of the old town wall, several of the round towers of which still exist to the north of it, and below

the great walls of the convent built within them. This steeple is very plain below, but its belfry stage has two fine shafted windows in each face, and nook shafts at its four corners. It is capped with a low square spire with small spire-lights; but as I found the working lines of all this drawn out elaborately on the whitewashed walls of one of the cloisters, and as all the work appears to be new, I cannot say whether or no it is an exact restoration, though I dare say it is.

In the sacristy (15) there are some paintings, of which one or two are of great beauty. One is a charming picture of the Blessed Virgin with our Lord, with angels on either side, and others holding a crown above: the faces are sweet and delicate. One of the attendant angels offers an apple to our Lord; the other plays a guitar: the background is a landscape. The frame, too, is original. It has a gold edge, then a flat of blue covered with delicate gold diaper, and there are two shutters with this inscription on them:—" *Fælix ē sacra virgo Maria et omni laude dignissima quia in te ortus est sol justicie Chrūs Deus noster.*" There is also a very little triptych, with a Descent from the Cross, and an inscription on the shutters. Two figures are drawing out the nails, and hold the body of our Lord; two other figures on ladders support His head and feet, and S. Mary and S. Mary Magdalene weep at the foot of the cross. The inscriptions on the shutters are from Zachariah xii., *Plagent eum*, etc., and Second Corinthians, "*Pro omnibus mortuus est Christus.*" There are other paintings which the Sacristan exhibits with more pride, but these two are precious works, of extremely good character, and painted probably about the end of the sixteenth century.

Leon is a much smaller city than might be expected for one so famous in Spanish history; its streets wind about in the most tortuous fashion; there are but few buildings of any pretension, and I saw no other old churches (16). There is indeed a great convent of San Marcos, built from the designs of Juan de Badajoz, in the sixteenth century, and afterwards added to by Berruguete, but I forgot to go to see it, and his work at San Isidoro makes me regard the omission as a very venial one (17). Round the city, on all sides, are long groves of poplars which look green and pleasant; there is a river—or at least in summer, as I saw it, the broad bed of one—and over the low hills which girt the city is a background of beautiful mountains. Both for its situation, therefore, and for the artistic treasures it enshrines, Leon well deserves a pilgrimage at the hands of all lovers of art (18).

NOTES

(1) To these must be added Chartres, for, as M. Camille Enlart has pointed out, the west portal at Leon is more like the transept porches at Chartres than like anything else in the world. Another correspondence, curious if only a coincidence, is in the spires, one plain with a fish-scale pattern of tiling, the other, and later, pierced.

(2) This filling has all been taken out now, and the restored lights have modern glass—in the clerestory barely tolerable, in the aisle windows insupportable.

(3) The glass case and the fine clothes are happily gone, and N. S. la Blanca smiles with her old frank coquetry, just delicately touched with paint on lips and cheeks, the white robe sprigged with gold.

(4) The archivolt has: I. in the innermost row Jesse and the seven kings, his descendants, crowned and making music. II. in the second the history of the Baptist, as follows: at the left at the bottom (1) the angel with Zacharias; (2) Zacharias writing the name; (3) Nativity of the Baptist; (4) Baptism of Christ; (5) The Baptist rebuking Herod; then at the bottom right (1) Herod and Herodias; (2) Salome dancing to music; (3) Decollation, of which all is broken except the executioner's great sword; (4) Angels from a cloud take the head while the lame are healed; (5) Disciples bury the body, while in the peak of the arch angels carry up the soul. III. On the outermost row on the left three monks and three bishops, with Christ blessing at the apex; and on the right a saint's legend which I believe that of San Froilan, perhaps the second of the name. It is entirely in the French tradition that the northern door should celebrate the local saints.

(5) The archivolt has: (1) (innermost row) eight seraphim, apparently with books; (2) ten angels with censers and candles; (3) two women saints at the bottom, and then the wise and foolish virgins; the latter have other interests, a mirror, and a dog, etc., and some of them are out of place, like a great deal more of the sculpture at Leon. Great statues (or their empty niches) of the twelve apostles are ranged each side of the central portal: of the six figures at the northern door I could make nothing, and I fancy they were gathered up from anywhere during restoration. At the southern door, two prophets, the Baptist (who belongs on the other side with his history), a prophet or angel, Solomon and Sheba. The outer piers have the Church and Synagogue where they can look to Christ at the centre, Queen Esther, and prophets finer than those on the jambs.

(6) The south transept is severe enough now, but some of the statues are out of place. On the mid-post of the central door is San Froilan under a canopy, French work of the same school as the transept portals at Chartres: on the jambs, at the left a prophet who should be the angel Gabriel, a Virgin Annunciate, and a King; on the right a Virgin in Presentation, Simeon, and a Queen out of her place. The niches of the two flanking doorways are empty.

(7) The mid-post of the north transept carries a Madonna with the Child and a rose, a very grave, queenly figure. The jambs have

Melchizedek, SS. Peter, Paul, Philip, and two other apostles. The great sculpture at Leon urges on one afresh how living and flexible a genius had the French craftsmen, how soon from the city about them they copied Spanish costumes and Spanish types. Just so in the small sculpture of the cloister, on the tombs and the tympana above them, on the corbels that carry the groining and the capitals of the shafts, is plenty of admirable late Gothic carving, saintly legends and scenes of contemporary life: a feast with jongleurs and women dancers, a lovely woodland design of stag-hunting and boar-hunting, the apple harvest, with women at work and grapes already ripe.

(8) Florentine in conception and technique this painting seems to me at the outset, but it grows steadily more Spanish as the series goes on. By the Pentecost the old Spanish composition is pretty clearly manifest and already in the Passion—even in the Herod scenes—the architectural forms and the types of ruffian are Spanish absolutely.

(9) Read, The Golden Gate.

(10) No. 28 is completely gone, the bay filled by a door and a yellow plaster wall above. It must have had the Resurrection.

(11) Among paintings in the Cathedral are remains of frescoes much nearer to the French style on the east wall of the large chapel to the north-east of the transept, and a painting in oils of the martyrdom of S. Erasmus in a tympanum of a destroyed tomb just east of the transept door. In the ambulatory chapel dedicated to them is a fresco of SS. Cosmos and Damian, and a later quattrocento painting of the *Santos Medicos* as well; on the other side of the Lady Chapel a cinquecento SS. Martha and Mary Magdalen, the latter rather good, with much use of white and a late Sienese look about her face. Opposite is a Pietà, very Spanish in composition, at the sides of which figure Jeremiah with the money-bag and Isaiah with the napkin. In the north end of the transept, in a fine perpendicular frame, stands a great painted retable of no small worth. The centre holds a statue of the Madonna seated; the predella half lengths of SS. Thomas, Andrew, John, Peter, Paul, James, Bartholomew, and Philip; and the eighteen scenes of the main structure are drawn from saintly legend. The panels, now out of place, should read from the top as follows: on the left the story of three holy children committed by their mother to a saintly bishop, who teaches them in school, confutes the heathen doctors, leaves his city to appear before the Pro-consul, is tortured by the Emperor with fire and scourging. The children are beheaded, the bishop strengthening them and then undergoing martyrdom himself; miracles are worked at his shrine. On the right, at the top, is I. S. Roch (1) nursing the sick in a hospital; (2) tended by an angel with his dog; and (3) returning to the city. II. A story I do not recognise, including a Mass, a Pietà (probably irrelevant), and ladies at a city gate. III. The story of the Holy Cross: (1) The angel visiting Constantine; (2) the battle of Arbela; (3) the dead raised by the virtue of the True Cross. The whole is good downright Spanish painting, that neither copies the Flemings nor goes astray after the Umbrians, with its own beauty of form, colour, and texture, and a keen dramatic

interest. The bishop's throne near the High Altar is decorated with such exquisite little painted saints, six in the centre, two on each side, and four in the wings, like figures from a window, that it almost justifies the existence of the professional restorer. Over the altar and to right and left of it hang the superb fragments of the Retablo Mayor painted about 1450 by Nicholas of Leon, given in 1740 to a country church, and brought back in 1907. M. Bertaux thinks the painter, who received a commission in 1450 for the "little altar of the Capilla Mayor," was probably the same Nicholas who worked for the chapter from 1450 to 1468, and perhaps a pupil of Nicholas the Florentine at Salamanca. He was sent to Salamanca in 1452 to study the Last Judgment there before painting it in Leon on the inside of the west wall. The retablo on the epistle side is made up of fragments: SS. Paul and Peter, Christ among the Doctors, and the Epiphany, on one side; on the other, SS. Bartholomew and Andrew, the Mass of S. Gregory, and the Deposition. The great Pietà on the gospel side shows a very curious conflict between the treatment of the school of Van der Weyden, with the cross in the centre and the whole composition like an inverted **1**, and the Catalan tradition of a wide low panel with all the heads in a row and a stiff horizontal figure of the dead Christ below these. The central retablo is devoted mainly to San Froilan; at the top, his translation, below that two groups of saints (SS. Andrew, John, and Paul, SS. Peter, James, and Thomas), and below that again a niche for the statue of the saint. On each side are two scenes: San Froilan as bishop, and monks in a wood, to the left; to the right, monks invaded by soldiers and the Presentation of the Blessed Virgin. The predella carries the Dormition, Annunciation, Pentecost, Nativity, Epiphany, and Candlemas. The painting is curious and delightful, with a red-haired Madonna, harsh Spanish facial types, gold backgrounds, and for the costumes masses of grass-green and scarlet, splendid past description: the scene of enthronement what Mr. Abbey must dream of painting.

(12) The groining shaft crosses the north window similarly at present. The nave is all restored; the transepts and east end are screened off and scraped, awaiting restoration.

(13) Señor Lampérez disputes some of this. He will only admit at most that the *Panteon* may be part of the narthex *temp.* Ferdinand I. The church was dedicated in 1063, the king being in close relation with Cluny; it was enlarged by Alfonso VII., from 1101 to 1149 and then reconsecrated. Petrus de Deo must have worked at this last building. The apses and transept belong to the time of Ferdinand I. and Doña Urraca, his daughter, and the nave to Alfonso VII. and Petrus de Deo; proof lies in the doors, that called *del Perdon* being the earlier and of the school of Toulouse.

(14) The painting is nearly all Byzantine in character, though very various, and I hardly think a French source can be proved for the great vault compositions, even for the Last Supper. More likely the chief artists were either trained under men from Constantinople or themselves fetched thence. In the north-east vault (VI. in Street's enumeration) S. John is prostrated before the angel like George of Antioch in the mosaic of the Martorana at Palermo. The

arch between this and the one west of it has the dove; that to the south has the labours of the months adapted to a colder climate than the centre of France and a more laborious life. January shuts one door and opens another; February warms himself at a fire; March prunes the vine; April grafts the tree—a man in a cloak holds two bundles of twigs; May leads his donkey, instead of riding on horse-back; June mowing; July, reaping; August, threshing; September, gathering grapes into a basket; October shakes down acorns to swine; November kills the hogs; December sits at table with cup, dish, and fire.

In the next compartment (*i.e.*, in the text I.) the Evangelists are represented with the heads of their symbolic beasts, as in some of the painted altar frontals in the museums at Barcelona and Vich. The arch to the west has the Hand of God, blessing, between Enoch and Elijah. The other arches have patterns, some of which are like those carved on the door-posts at Chartres and the mouldings at Avallon in France and at Cambre in Spain. While I know that the presence of the months is accepted as a sign, whether at Verona or at Trani, that northern workmen have passed that way, and while I recognise the importance of the pattern associated with the west portal at Chartres, I humbly submit that the Greek quality of the main compositions cannot be ignored or offset. The whole south-east vault (II.) is a pastoral in the Alexandrian manner, like a wall decoration or a miniature; the angel insignificant, the shepherds hardly so delightful as the vine-wreaths, sheep and goats, delicious cows, a dog drinking from a cup. The arch to the west has leafage. The Massacre of the Innocents (III.) is the most like the usual thirteenth-century painting, *e.g.* in France; and the scene of S. Peter and the maid (V.) is the vivid forerunner of the episodes in Spanish retables, but of the best kind. Everywhere there is great beauty, but most of all in (IV.), the Last Supper, which is absolutely in the grand style. The gigantic Christ follows the Byzantine convention: among the apostles appears the same play of gesture that Leonardo was to work out. Two of the sides open upon cloister walks; in the tympana of the arches on the other two the scenes are sorely ruined. On the east wall may be traced, in the north bay, the Crucifixion; in the south, the Nativity with small scenes, and angels above the altar niche in the central one; on the south wall the Annunciation and Visitation and the Flight into Egypt. While very often in provincial art the historical interest is very nearly the whole, here curiosity is far out-weighted by beauty.

(15) I could not get into the sacristy; perhaps, as in the choir of the west gallery, there is strict *clausura* against ladies, but the sacristan was positive that nothing remained there which I could care to see.

(16) There exists, however, a fine old church in *N. S. del Mercado* or *del Camino*, with a Romanesque west tower and three apses. The interior was altered once by throwing into one the two central bays in the nave and aisles: the central apse has a barrel-vault, and then had a semi-dome like the two side apses. These contain rich capitals developed from the Corinthian, very like contemporary Gallegan forms. The retables are late, but not with-

out charm; one in the Education of the Virgin shows her making lace on a pillow. The tower of four stages stands west of the nave, making a vestibule which opens by doors north and south into rooms; fine old iron grilles are still in their western windows. The apses outside have corbels, a rich billet moulding for eaves-cornice and drip-stone, and fine capitals of the Gallegan cabbage-leaf or of *entrelacs*. The round head of a walled-up door on the north side reveals how far the level of the town has risen about the ancient foundations.

(17) *Yo tambien*. At least, both times I was in Leon I put it off until the last moment, to be visited on the way to the train, and then stayed too late in the cathedral to spare the time. From a distance, and from pictures, it appears high-shouldered, plateresque, and negligible.

(18) I had wanted, however, while in Leon to visit San Miguel de Escalada, where on November 20, 913, Alfonso III. the Great gave a little church to some Cordovan monks, refugees from the Moors. In a year's time it was consecrated (November 20, 914), from which men tend to believe that Alfonso must have given a building already existent, *i.e.* Visigothic. Moreover, into it are built many bricks with a Roman stamp or a Visigothic inscription. When in 980 Almansor ravaged the March of Leon the damage must have been slight and soon repaired. In 1050, new works were undertaken on the outside; nobody seems to know just what. It has three aisles and three deep barrel-vaulted apses, with arches across the front of the choir on the west side of the transept; five round-headed horse-shoe arches to the nave-arcade and three to the sanctuary, with two wider and plainer arches opening from the aisles; wooden roofs, but a vault in the apses and the arms of the transept; a cloister along the south side and a tower east of that. The details of the sculpture in tympanum and panels, as given in *Monumentas Arquitectonicas*, suggest a Visigoth trying to copy Byzantine work.

CHAPTER VI

ASTORGA, LUGO, LA CORUÑA

THE road from Leon to Astorga is bad, and traverses a very uninteresting country. A good part of the old walls of Astorga still remains, with the usual array of lofty round towers at short intervals: they were in process of partial demolition when I saw them, and I noticed that they were in part constructed with what appeared to be fragments of Roman buildings. There is a rather picturesque Plaza de la Constitucion here, one end of it being occupied by a quaint town-hall of the seventeenth century, through an archway in the centre of which one of the streets opens into the Plaza. A number of bells are hung in picturesque slated turrets on the roof, and some of them are struck by figures (1).

The only old church I saw was the cathedral. A stone here is inscribed with the following words in Spanish: "In 1471, on the 16th of August, the first stone of the new work of this holy church was laid;" and there is no doubt that the church is all of about this date, with some additions—chiefly, however, of Retablos and other furniture—in the two following centuries. The character of the whole design is necessarily in the very latest kind of Gothic; and much of the detail, especially on the exterior, is quite Renaissance in its character. The east end is finished with three parallel apses, and the nave is some seven or eight bays in length, with towers projecting beyond the aisles at the west end, and chapels opening into the aisles between the buttresses. The light is admitted by windows in the aisles over the chapel arches, and by a large clerestory. These windows are fortunately filled with a good deal of fine early Renaissance glass, which, though not all that might be wished in drawing and general treatment, is still remarkable for its very fine colour. Arches of the same height as the groining of the aisles open into the towers, the interior view across which produces the effect of a sort of western transept, corresponding with a similar transept between the nave and the apsidal choir (2). The detail

is throughout very similar to that of the better known cathedrals at Segovia and Salamanca, the section of the columns being like a bundle of reeds, with ingeniously planned interpenetrating base mouldings, multiplied to such an extent that they finish at a height of no less than ten feet from the floor. Another evidence of the late character of the work is given by the arch mouldings, which lie against and interpenetrate those of the columns, there being no capitals. Beyond a certain stateliness of height and colour which this small cathedral has in common with most other Spanish works of the same age, there is but little to detain or interest an architect. But stateliness and good effects of light and shade are so very rare in modern works, that we can ill afford to regard a building which shows them as being devoid of merit or interest.

From Astorga the road soon begins to rise, and the scenery thenceforward for the remainder of the journey to la Coruña becomes always interesting, and sometimes extremely beautiful. The country can hardly be said to be mountainous, yet the hills are on a scale far beyond what we are accustomed to; and the grand sweep of the hill sides, covered occasionally with wood, and intersected by deep valleys, makes the whole journey most pleasant. One of the prettiest spots on the road, before reaching Villafranca, is the little village of Torre, where a quaint bridge spans the brawling trout-stream; and where the thick cluster of squalid cottages atones to the traveller, in some degree, by its picturesqueness, for the misery in which the people live. They seem to be terribly ill off, and their chimneyless hovels—pierced only with a door and one very small window or hole in the wall, into which all the light, and out of both of which all the smoke have to find their way—are of the worst description. The village churches appear to be, almost without exception, very mean; and all have the broad western bell-turret, so popular in this part of Spain.

In ten hours from Astorga, passing Ponferrada on the way, from the hill above which the view is very fine, Villafranca del Bierzo is reached; and this is the only place of any importance on the road. Its situation is charming, on a fine trout-stream, along whose beautiful banks the road runs for a considerable distance; and it is the proper centre for excursions to the convents of the Bierzo (3), of which Mr. Ford gives an account which made me anxious to examine them, though unfortunately the time at my disposal put it completely out of the question. These old towns, of the second or third rank,

have a certain amount of picturesque character, though far less than might be expected of external evidence of their antiquity. Here, indeed, the picturesqueness is mainly the result of the long tortuous streets, and the narrow bridges over the beautiful river, which make the passage of a diligence so much of an adventure, as to leave the passengers grateful when they have gained with safety the other side of the town. The Alameda here is pleasantly planted; and the town boasts of an inn which is just good enough to make it quite possible for an ecclesiologist to use it as headquarters in a visit to the convents of the Vierzo, whilst any one who is so fortunate as to be both fisherman and ecclesiologist could scarcely be better placed.

Villafranca has one large, uninteresting, and very late Gothic church, into which I could not get admission; the other churches seemed to be all Renaissance in style.

I arrived at Lugo after a journey of more than thirty hours from Leon. Like Astorga it is surrounded with a many-towered wall, which still seems to be perfect throughout its whole extent. The road passes along under it, half round the town, until at last it turns in through an archway, and reaches the large Plaza of San Domingo, in which is the diligence Fonda (4). This was so unusually dirty even to the eyes and nose of a tolerably well-seasoned traveller, that I was obliged to look for a lodging, which, after a short search, I discovered; and if it was not much better, it was still a slight improvement on the inn. In these towns lodgings are generally to be found; and as they are free from the abominable scent of the mules, which pervades every part of all the inns, they are often to be preferred to them. Mine was in a narrow street leading out of the great arcaded Plaza, which, on the day of my arrival, was full of market-people, selling and buying every kind of commodity; and on (5) the western side of this Plaza stands the cathedral.

This is a church of very considerable architectural value and interest. It was commenced early in the twelfth century, under the direction of a certain Maestro Raymundo, of Monforte de Lemos. His contract with the bishop and canons was dated A.D. 1129; and by this it was agreed that he should be paid an annual salary of two hundred *sueldos* of the money then current; and if there was any change in its value, then he was to be paid six marks of silver, thirty-six yards of linen, seventeen "cords" of wood, shoes and gaiters as he had need of them; and each month two *sueldos* for meat, a measure of salt, and a pound of candles. Master Raymundo accepted these conditions, and

bound himself to assist at the work all the days of his life; and if he died before its completion, his son was to finish it.¹

The church built by Raymundo is said to have been finished in A.D. 1177,² and still in part no doubt remains.³ It consists of a nave and aisles of ten bays in length, transepts, and a short apsidal choir, with aisle and chapels round it. The large central eastern chapel is an addition made in A.D. 1764; and the west front is a very poor work of about the same period. There is an open porch in front of the north transept, and a steeple on its eastern side.

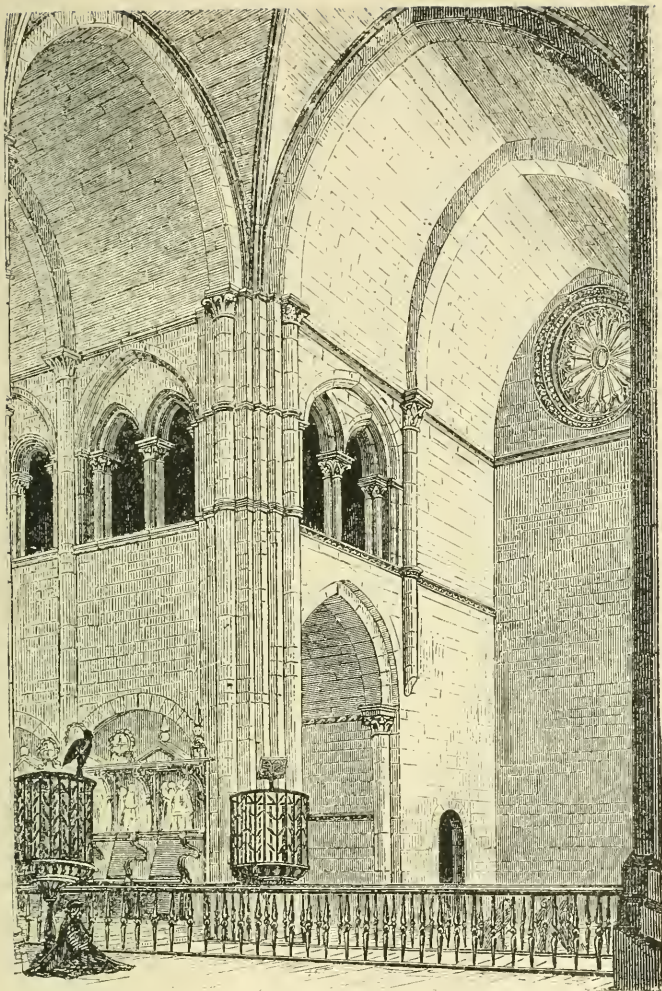
The design and construction of the nave and aisles is very peculiar, and must be compared with that of the more important cathedral at Santiago. This had been finished, so far as the fabric was concerned, in the previous year, and evidently suggested the mode of construction adopted at Lugo.

Here the arches, with few exceptions, are pointed; but otherwise the design of the two churches is just the same. The nave has a pointed barrel-vault; the triforium, however, has quadripartite vaulting throughout, in place of the half barrel-vaults used at Santiago; and the buttresses externally are connected by a series of arches below the eaves. The triforium consists in each bay of two pointed arches under a round enclosing arch, carried upon coupled shafts, which have rudely sculptured capitals. The five eastern bays of the nave appear at first sight to have no arches opening into the aisles; but upon closer examination the outline of some low arches will be found behind the stall work of the Coro. These arches are all blocked up; but if they were originally open they are so low that they could not have made the effect very different from what it now is. It looks, in fact, at first sight, as if the present arrangement of the Coro were that for which the church was originally built, and as if the nave proper was always that part only of the church to the west of the present Coro which opens to the aisles with simple pointed arches of the whole height of the aisle. But on further examination we find that the vaulting of the aisles in the four eastern bays is a round waggon-vault, and this, of course, limited the height to which it was possible to raise the arches between the aisle and the nave; and it is therefore probable that their height is not to be attributed so much to the wish to define a Coro in the nave, as to the fault of the architect, who did not at first perceive the advantage of using a quadripartite vault instead

¹ Pallares Gayoso, *Hist. de Lugo*, from the black book in the archives.

² Cean Bermudez, *Arq. de España*, i. 25.

³ Plate VII., p. 175.



LUGO CATHEDRAL
INTERIOR OF TRANSEPT LOOKING NORTH-WEST

of a waggon-vault. The three bays west of these have the former kind of vaulting without ribs, and with windows both larger and higher from the floor than the simple round-arched openings which light the four eastern bays. The eighth and ninth bays are evidently rather later than the rest; and the western bays, again, are quite subsequent additions. The crossing has a quadripartite vault, and the transepts waggon-vaults like those of the nave.

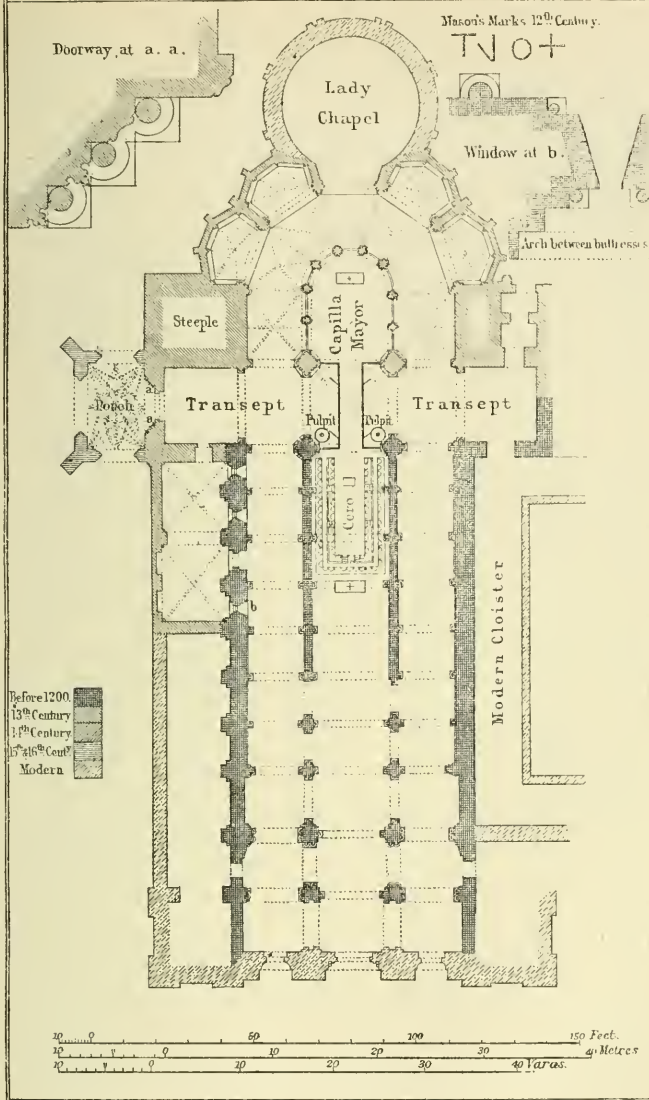
It is pretty clear that the work was commenced upon the scheme which we still see in the bays next the crossing, and carried on gradually with alterations as the work went on, and probably as it went on the architect discovered the mistake he was making in confining himself to waggon-vaulting in the aisles (6). It is somewhat remarkable that, with the example of Santiago so near, such a scheme should ever have been devised, unless, indeed, the work was commenced earlier than the date assigned, of which I see no evidence.

The choir shows the same gradual variation in style; and I have considerable difficulty in assigning a precise date to it. It is clear, however, that the whole of it is of much later date than the original foundation of the cathedral; and it is probable, I think, that it was reconstructed in the latter half of the thirteenth century. The windows in the chapels of the chevet are of two lights, with a small quatrefoil pierced in the tympanum above the lights. The mouldings of the groining are extremely bold and simple. The aisle-vaulting, too, is very simple and of early-pointed character, whilst the clustered columns round the apse look somewhat later. There is, however, no mark of alterations or additions; and I think, therefore, that the whole of this work must be of the same date, and that the difference visible between the various parts of it may be put down to the long lingering of those forms of art which had been once imported into this distant province, and to the consequent absence of development. The sculpture of the capitals in the chevet is nowhere, I think, earlier than about the end of the thirteenth century, though that in the chapels round it, being very simple, looks rather earlier.

Unfortunately all the upper part of the choir was rebuilt about the same time that the eastern chapel was added. It has strange thin ogee flying buttresses, large windows, and a painted ceiling.

Here, as at San Isidoro, Leon, the Host is always exposed, and, as I have mentioned before, two priests are always in attendance at faldstools on each side of the *Capilla mayor* in front of the altar.

LUGO: — Ground: Plan: of: the: Cathedral: :



The interior, of course, has been much damaged by the destruction of the old clerestory of the choir (7). It is, nevertheless, still very impressive, and much of its fine effect is owing to the contrast between the bright light of the nave and the obscure gloom of the long aisles on either side of the Coro. The length of the nave, too, is unusually great in proportion to the size of the church; and though much of the sculpture is rude in execution, it is still not without effect on the general character of the building.

On the north side of the nave a chapel has been added, which preserves the external arrangement of the windows and buttresses in the earliest part of the building, as they are now enclosed within and protected by it. The simple and rather rude buttresses are carried up and finished under the eaves' corbel-tables with arches between them, so as to make a continuous arcade the whole length of the building on either side.

The north doorway is of the same age as the early part of the church, and has a figure of our Lord within a vesica in the tympanum, and the Last Supper carved on a pendant below it. The head of the door-opening is very peculiar, having a round arch on either side of this central pendant. The door has some rather good ironwork. The porch in front of it is a work of the fifteenth century, or perhaps later, and is open on three sides.

The only good external view of the church is obtained from the north side. Here the tower rises picturesquely above the transept, but the belfry and upper stage are modern¹ and very poor. The bells are not only hung in the windows, but one of them is suspended in an open iron framework from the finish of the centre of the roof.

The cloister and other buildings seem to be all completely modern and are of very poor style.

There are two old churches here—those of the Capuchins and of Santo Domingo—both of them in or close to the Plaza of Santo Domingo (8). The church of the Capuchins is evidently interesting, though I could not gain access to its interior, which appears to be desecrated. It has transepts, a low central lantern, a principal apse of six sides, and two smaller apses opening into the transepts. These apses are remarkable for having an angle in the centre, whilst their windows have a bar of tracery across them, transome fashion, at mid-height. It is certainly a very curious coincidence, that in both these particulars it resembles closely the fine church of the Frari at Venice; and though I am not prepared to say that the imitation is anything

¹ A.D. 1577.—Madoz, *Dicc*

more than the merest accident, it is certainly noteworthy. The eaves are all finished with moulded corbel-tables; and there is a rather fine rose-window in the transept gable. The circles in the head of the apse windows are filled in with very delicate traceries, cut out of thin slabs of stone, a device evidently borrowed from Moresque examples; and it is somewhat strange to meet them here so far from any Moorish buildings or influence.

The church of Santo Domingo is somewhat similar in plan. It has a modernised nave of five bays, a central dome, which looks as though it might be old, but which is now all plastered and whitewashed, a principal apse of seven sides, transepts covered with waggon-vaults, and small apses to the east of them. The capitals have carvings of beasts and foliage; but none of these, or of the mouldings, look earlier than the fourteenth century; yet the capitals are all square in plan, and the arches into the chapels have a bold dog-tooth enrichment. There is a fine south doorway to the nave, in which chevrons, delicate fringes of cusping, and dog-tooth, are all introduced. In such a work the date of the latest portion must be the date of the whole; and so I do not think it can be earlier than the rest of the church, though at first sight it undoubtedly has the air of being more than a century older.

Gil Gonzalez Dávila¹ says that Bishop Fernando gave permission for the foundation of the convent of Santo Domingo in A.D. 1318, and that *circa* A.D. 1350-58 the Dominican Fray Pedro Lopez de Aguiar founded it; and this date appears to me to accord very well with the peculiar character of the work.

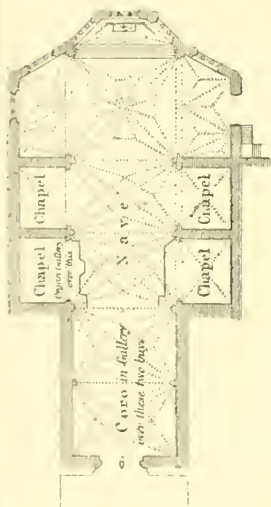
There is little more to be seen in Lugo. The old walls, though they retain all their towers, have been to some extent altered for the worse to fit them for defence in the last war; they have been also rendered available as a broad public walk—very pleasant, inasmuch as it commands good views of the open country beyond the city.

The people here and at Santiago all go to the fountains armed with a long tin tube, which they apply to the mouths of the beasts which discharge the water, and so convey the stream straight to their pitchers placed on the edge of the large basins. The crowd of water-carriers round a Spanish fountain is always noisy, talkative, and gay; and many is the fight and furious the clamour for the privilege of putting the tube to the fountain in regular order.

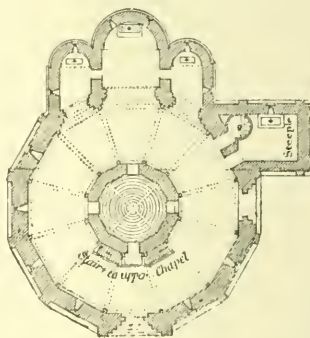
I travelled between la Coruña and Lugo by night, so that I

¹ *Teatro Eccl.* iii. 182, 183.

Churches at LA CORUNA: SAGOVIA.



Church of El Parnal, - Segovia.

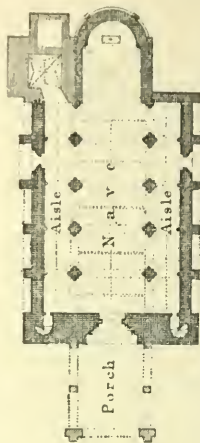


Church of the Templar - Segovia.

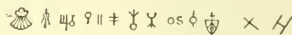
O-O Masons' Mark.



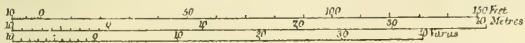
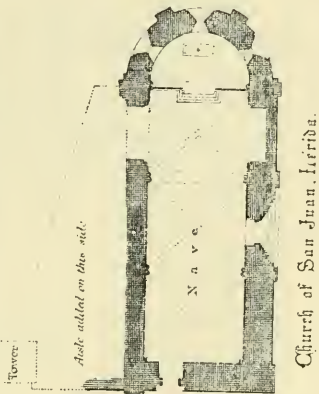
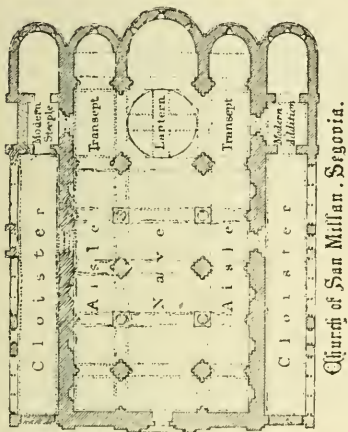
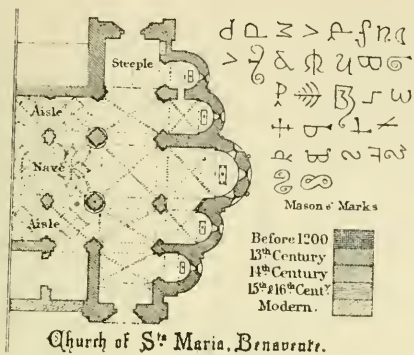
Church of Santiago, La Coruña.



Collegiate of Sta Maria, La Coruña.



Masons' Marks.



am unable to say anything as to the country or scenery on the road, save that for some distance before reaching Lugo it is cold, bare, and unattractive.

Betanzos (9), the only town of importance on the road, has two or three good churches, which I missed seeing by daylight. They are of early date, with apsidal east ends, and somewhat similar, apparently, to the churches at la Coruña, though on a larger scale.

La Coruña is charmingly situated, facing a grand landlocked bay, but on the inner side of a narrow ridge, a short walk across which leads to the open sea, which is here very magnificent. The views of the coast, and the openings to the grand bays or *rios* of Ferrol, Betanzos, and la Coruña, are of unusual beauty, and it is rarely indeed that one sees a more attractive country. But there is not very much to detain an architect. The town is divided into the old and the new; and in the former are two old churches, which, though small, are interesting; whilst in the latter there is absolutely nothing to see but shops and cafés.

The Collegiata of Sta. Maria del Campo was made a parish church by King Alonso X. in A.D. 1256, and in A.D. 1441 was made collegiate: it has a nave and aisles of five bays, and a short chancel, with an apse covered with a semi-dome vault.¹ The nave and aisles are all covered with pointed waggon-vaults springing from the same level; and as the aisles are narrow, their vaults resist the thrust of the main vault, without exerting a violent thrust on the aisle walls. The capitals are rudely carved with foliage, and the arches are perfectly plain. The bay of vaulting over the chancel is a pointed waggon-vault, with ribs on its under side, arranged as though in imitation of a sexpartite vault.²

The western doorway has a circular arch, with rudely carved foliage in the outer orders; and ten angels, with our Lord giving His blessing in the centre, in the inner order. The tympanum has the Adoration of the Magi. The abaci and capitals are

¹ Plate VIII., p. 179.

² The following inscription remains on one of the columns on the north side of the nave:—

SANTA : MARIA : RECE
AB : ESTE : PIAR : DE : FON
DO : A TE : CIMA : CON : LA
METADE : DOS : AR
COS : CA : QUELQUE : O :
PAGON : EN : VIII. : IDUS
JULII : ERA : MCCC : XL.

From which it appears that this column, with the halves of the two arches springing from it, was built in A.D. 1302. On another column on the same side is an inscription recording the erection of the Chapel of the Visitation in A.D. 1374.

carved, but everywhere the carving is overlaid with whitewash so thickly as to be not very intelligible. The south door has storied capitals, and angels under the corbels, which support the tympanum over the door-opening; this has a figure with a pilgrim's staff, probably Santiago, and there are other figures and foliage in the arch. The abacus is carried round the buttresses, and a bold arch is thrown across between them above the door. An original window near this door is a mere slit in the wall, and not intended for glazing. The north door is somewhat similar to the other, with a sculpture of S. Katharine in the tympanum.



STA. MARIA, LA CORUÑA

The apse has a very small east window, engaged columns dividing it into three bays, and a simple corbel-table.

The west front (10) is quaint and picturesque. It has a bold porch—now almost built up by modern erections—and two small square towers or turrets at the angles. Of these the south-western has a low, square stone spire, springing from within a traceried parapet, and with some very quaint crockets at the angles. A tall cross, with an original sculpture of the Crucifixion, stands in the little Plaza in front of the church. The Coro here is in a large western gallery, but both this and the stalls are Renaissance in style.

The other church is that of Santiago. This has a broad nave, forty-four feet wide, into the east wall of which three small

apses open.¹ The nave is divided into four bays by bold cross arches, which carry the wooden roof; and of the three eastern arches, the central rises high above the others, and has a circular window above it. The west front has a very fine doorway (11), set in a projecting portion of the wall, finished with a corbel-table and cornice at the top. This has a figure of Santiago in the tympanum, and statues in the jambs. The north doorway has heads of oxen supporting the lintel, and rude carving of foliage in the arch. One of the original windows remains in the north wall. This is roundheaded and very narrow, but has good jambshafts and arch-mouldings. The detail of the eastern apse is of bold and simple Romanesque character, with engaged shafts supporting the eaves-cornice.

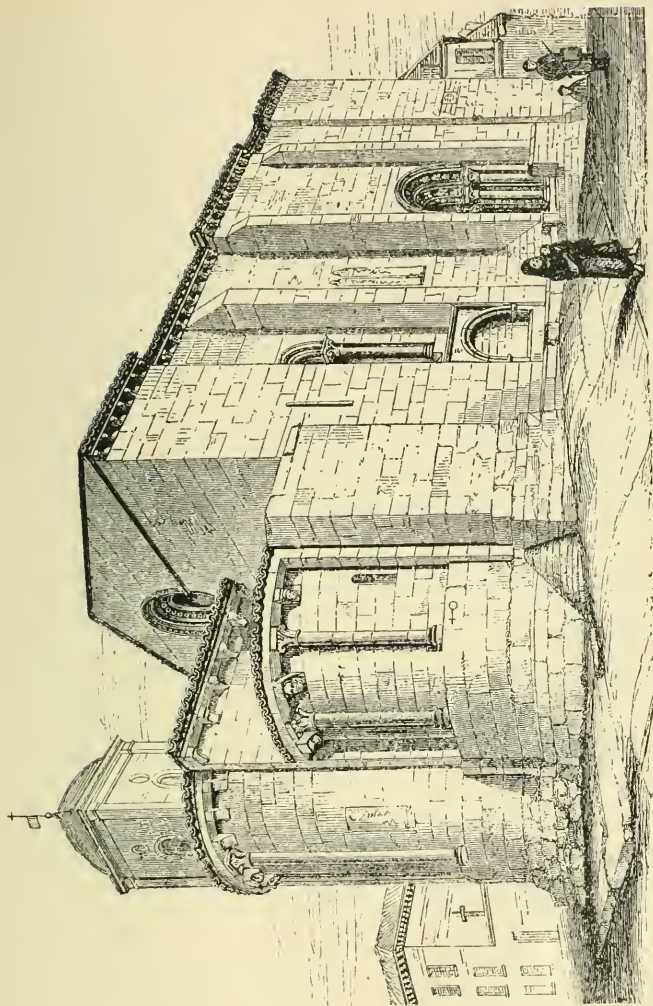
There is not, so far as I know, any evidence as to the exact date of these churches; but I think that the character of all their details proves that they were founded about the middle of the twelfth century. They are evidently later than the cathedral at Santiago, and tally more with the work which I have been describing in the nave of Lugo Cathedral. And though the dimensions of both are insignificant, they appear to me to be extremely valuable examples, as showing two evident attempts at development on the part of their architect, who, to judge of the strong similarity in some of their details, was probably the same man.

Three barrel-vaults on the same level as at Sta. Maria are seldom seen; and the bold cross arches spanning Santiago are a good example of an attempt in the twelfth century to achieve what few have yet attempted to accomplish in the revival of the present day—the covering of a broad nave in a simple, economical, and yet effective manner (12).

In the church of Santiago there is preserved a fragment of an embroidered blue velvet cope. The sprigs with which it is diapered are so exactly similar in character to those of some of our own old examples—the Ely cope in particular—as to suggest the idea that the work is really English.

From La Coruña to Santiago the road is, for the first half of the way, extremely pleasant, and passes through a luxuriant country; gradually, however, as the end of the great pilgrimage is reached, it becomes dreary and the country bare; still the outlines of the hills are fine, and some of the distant views rather attractive. But Santiago is too important a city, and its cathedral is too grand and interesting, to be described at the end of a chapter.

¹ Plate VIII., p. 178.



LA CORUÑA
CHURCH OF SANTIAGO

NOTES

(1) In Astorga, the walls are gone and the figures on the town hall do not strike any more. The cathedral, which can be well seen by going over for the day from Leon, is not worth spending a night at the Fonda del Comercio, the only hotel in the place, and the worst, I believe, in Spain.

(2) Señor Lampérez compares the plan with that of Leon, and points out that the apparent transepts east and west are not truly such, because the vaulting is on a level with that of the aisles. These jutting bays at the east are dated by an inscription in them, 1553; the chapels are all of the sixteenth and seventeenth century, the cloister of the eighteenth. The longitudinal arches into the chapels are the shape of the so-called Tudor arch. It is worth noting how often late Gothic in Spain resembles English rather than French styles: in the use of the four-centred arch, in Perpendicular paneling (for instance, in the frames of retables), and in the frequency of the "linen-fold" pattern in panelled wood. The cathedral in Astorga, moreover, like the New Cathedral and San Esteban at Salamanca, can very justly be compared with such late Gothic churches as S. Gervais at Paris, rather to the advantage of the Spanish. An interesting retable of S. Theresa in one of the nave chapels presents SS. Scolastica and Catharine of Siena, Paula and Clare, with four doctors. The other retables are mostly of an age; *N. S. de la Magestad* is an archaic figure, SS. Toribio and Genadius, both bishops, are the local patrons. The central portal at the west is very late and very bad.

(3) I did not try to penetrate the Vierzo, almost as inaccessible as sixty years since. Even Villafranca lies off the railway. The most important of these convents seems Carracedo, a Cistercian foundation, restored in 1796. Of the tenth century nothing, of the twelfth century a little remains. The church was begun October 16, 1138. The chapter-house, which still has a round-arched door with three shafts in the jamb, and one Romanesque ajimez window, contains some tombs—the abbots Florencio and Diego (died 1155). The palace, though ruined, still stands with a window and gallery of the thirteenth century. Besides this, there are San Martin de Castañeda, and Santiago de Peñalva, a chapel with apses east and west, a cloister and a tomb, 937-1105.

Of Villafranca, founded 1070 for French pilgrims on the Way of S. James, Señor Quadrado says¹ that the parish churches of Santiago and San Juan are Romanesque, that San Francisco, with Romanesque details, has a dedication of the fifteenth century. The monks at Cluny at the time of the foundation had maintained two hospices, Santiago and San Lazaro.

(4) Lugo, which has now an excellent inn, the Hotel Mendez Nuñez, is the sweetest and sleepest cathedral town in Spain, with trees in the main square, roses in the canons' gardens, and a walk entirely about the city on top of the walls, commanding fine mountain views.

(5) For *on* read *beyond*.

¹ *España*.

(6) Señor Lampérez continues the history as follows: Raymond's son succeeded him. In 1273, indulgences were offered for contributors; in 1308, the chapter bought up some houses to make the head (*i.e.* the east end, sanctuary, apses or ambulatory, chapels, and what not, called in Spanish *cabecera*). It probably had at first three parallel chapels and was altered later. Documents quoted by Señor Villamil y Castro show that in the thirteenth century it had chapels only of S. Michael and S. Martin; moreover the Capilla Mayor is very fine and French, and the surrounding chapels rougher and more regional. Therefore, we must distinguish three periods: (1) 1129-1177, transept and earliest apsidal chapels; (2) thirteenth century, nave and façade; (3) first half of the fourteenth century, Capilla Mayor, ambulatory, and its chapels.

(7) The face of each transept from the portal to the rose is filled by great carved and painted retables of the sixteenth century, made probably out of the ruins of an earlier Retablo Mayor. Along the walls of the coro hang some paintings of the story of Joseph from a yet earlier one perhaps. San Froilan re-appears on the west front.

(8) The churches of S. Francis and S. Dominic are close together and just alike, having a low central tower, three polygonal apses with an angle at the centre, transepts, and no aisles. Of the former Señor Villamil says rather peevishly that it is not Capuchin, but primitive Franciscan; at any rate it is deserted, and through a little, late, low-browed, ugly conventicle under its wing, along the south side of the nave west of the transept, lies the only access to it. A great west door is locked and a great cloister on the north side, of nine bays ruined with whitewash, is the playground of orphans, wards of the Little Sisters of the Poor. The cloister is made up of groups of three round arches on coupled shafts under a single abacus, between heavy piers, in the style of the Romanesque cloisters in the south of France, at Elne, Mont-Major, etc., but the date is 1452. There seems to be a chapter-house, but I did not see it. The church carries the wooden roof of nave and transepts on fine pointed stone arches, and at the crossing an octagonal *artesonado* ceiling. Santo Domingo, I believe, is also fifteenth century.

(9) Betanzos is exceedingly picturesque and quite unspoiled, the inn tolerable, and some of the *Casas de Huespedes* inviting. The church of Santiago at the top of the hill seems the ideal type for a parish church, very lofty and open, with aisles almost as high as the nave. Señor Lampérez cites it as typical Gallegan, looking thirteenth century and probably late fourteenth. Over the main arcade of lofty pointed arches the timber roof spreads a single gradual slope from the centre to the walls. The central apse has a chevet of seven compartments, with three lancets below roses, and with a marked inclination to the north; and the side apses have a quadripartite vault, and a rose in the aisle wall above. A rich and beautiful late Gothic chapel on the south contains two bishops' tombs and a superb early Renaissance retablo of S. James that recalls the French figure-sculptures of the church of Brou or of Troyes. At the west, pointed arches open from the aisles into two square towers, taken off the width of the last bay; and a third tower, at the east, is in the shape of an irregular pentagon. The

façade seems to testify that Lombard workmen once passed along that road, but being also lately restored, like nearly everything else ecclesiastical in the town, one cannot safely judge by it of the original building. At any rate, it is dated 1900, has a blind arcade under the eaves, and shallow pilasters and a pair of trumpery little towers. The portal was magnificently conceived, but always, probably, as in all provincial work, the execution lagged behind the idea. S. James on horseback occupies the pointed tympanum; a row of little figures, the second of the five orders above, and a seated Christ on a larger scale, the peak of the arch; the four shafts in the jambs have grotesque or storied capitals. Several masons' marks are plain by the north door. Santa Maria del Azogue is like Santiago, except that the side apses are square. It was founded by the Andrade family and cannot be earlier than the fourteenth century; the date of construction by some is read 1346, and by others 1417. The nave as I paced it was about forty feet wide and the aisle twelve. It has five bays of which the first seems a true narthex, opening on either hand into the aisle-ends by pointed arches with coarse, rude leaves and storied capitals. The retable is carved in small scenes and recalls Flemish or Rhenish work of the late fifteenth century. The façade projects a trifle beyond the aisle-ends, and the south wall only is carried up and pierced for bells. The central wheel-window of three orders, and rich, has a bad and modern filling. The portal, of the same sort as that of Santiago, has an Epiphany in the tympanum and a panelling, beyond the shafted jambs, under the wide archivolt. San Francisco, finished 1387, is fine Gothic; it has a nave, transept, pentagonal apse, two square chapels east of the transepts, others north and south and also west—these of the fifteenth or sixteenth century. An amusing tomb of Fernando Perez de Andrada, 1387, carved with hunting scenes, stands on very Iberian pigs. The chapels and chevet have a ribbed vault, probably later, the transept a barrel-vault, the crossing a flat wooden ceiling and the nave a steep one. The cloister on the north side is gone.

Cambre is a charming village, with well-to-do gardens and a good train service to La Coruña, and Santa Maria is an immensely interesting church of the thirteenth century with some unusual elements, most of which are French. It has a nave and aisles of four bays; the timber roof, carried on round arches of stone, is flat in the nave and sloping over the aisles. The square transepts of two bays and deep presbytery are barrel-vaulted, the apse ending in a semi-dome. This apse has seven bays, now blocked up, four narrow and three wide, and the ambulatory has eleven bays of segmental barrel-vault, alternating narrow and wider. In the five radiating chapels, rather more than a semi-circle in plan, set on the wider faces, the vaults are pointed and ribbed, and arch at entrance pointed.¹ The capitals in the nave are transitional, in the chapels unmistakably Gothic, and the holy water stoops are made of fine capitals which show, in the Romanesque acanthus pattern, traces of Gothic feeling. The fine early font of red stone is still in use. The façade has two small round-headed windows at the west of the aisles, moulded with

¹ Cf. the note by Street, p. 195, on French churches with chapels in the alternate bays only.

a billet and then the deep scallop so common in Galicia; on the south side these scallops are cusped. The shafts in the jambs, like those of the door, have some capitals carved in a leaf pattern and others in *entrelacs* or monsters. The beautiful rose-window in the centre has eight circles disposed around a central larger circle cut in a plate of stone all over delicate reliefs, deep mouldings with the scallop, and a label of the acanthus leaves in low relief. Below this window a cornice on six corbels stretches between nave-buttresses of moderate projection that carry a half column on the face and a quarter column in the inner corner; all three have fine transitional capitals under a continuous abacus moulding. The tympanum of the round-headed door shows the Agnus Dei in a cusped circle held by two angels. The moulding of the arch above is both rich and curious; the inmost order, a diaper of crosses deeply undercut, such as you find on the shafts at Chartres, then a series of hollows and rounds with a bold roll in the middle, another order carved like ivory in a pattern of *entrelacs*, and last before the billet label, set over the series of mouldings, instead of the hosts in glory, as at Benavente, Betanzos, and Santiago, a series of beasts and birds, among which at the centre of the arch a man sits with legs crossed and a book in his lap, elbows on knees and chin on hands, two lions looking over his shoulders. For rich luxuriance of fancy, as if some breath had blown out of the east and for an hour had bewitched northern workmen, I can recall no parallel except the rose-window at Troja. There again, without straining the parallel too far, from a like cause you make out a kind of similarity of effect, Byzantine and French influences meeting and acting on an alien race.

(10) The west front of Santa Maria has been completely restored and is not only uninteresting, but, like Santiago of Betanzos, suspicious; as Lombard as possible, with four pilaster-buttresses, two string-courses, and eaves-corbelling. The beautiful Virgin Annunciate and S. Gabriel, which must belong to the destroyed porch, are leaning against the wall in a chapel on the north side. The north door at present has an Annunciation in the tympanum.

(11) This has three shafts in the jambs and two statues set on the door posts facing each other, beneath the kneeling figures of the lintel corbels. Worn figures of twenty angels are ranged in the archivolts, as at Santiago of Compostella, and above the peak of the outermost order Christ enthroned shows His wounded hands. The corbels of the cornice, resting on figures, enclose others in the arches between. The tympanum of the north door, round-arched, exhibits the Agnus Dei.

(12) Señor Lampérez points out that our author had no means to gauge the degree to which Galicia lagged behind the times. At Santa Maria, for instance, though the foundation is old, the church is only archaic: at Santiago, with apses of the twelfth century, the rest is mainly of the sixteenth, when the nave and aisles were thrown together. Santa Maria del Campo¹ was begun in 1302, and the vaults closed in 1317. Santiago, existing in 1161, received in 1448 a donation for covering it, and in the early sixteenth century was rebuilt, according to an inscription on the church.

¹ Cf. note on p. 180.

CHAPTER VII

SANTIAGO DE COMPOSTELLA

THE journey from Lugo to Santiago (1) is pleasant so far as the country is concerned, and there is one advantage in the extremely slow and grave pace of the diligences in this part of the world, that it always allows of the scenery being well studied. Moreover, in these long rides there is a pleasure and relief in being able to take a good walk without much risk of being left behind, which can hardly be appreciated by the modern Englishman who travels only in his own country. The general character of the landscape is somewhat like that of the Yorkshire moors, diversified here and there by beautiful valleys, the sides of which are generally clothed with chestnut, but sometimes with walnut, oak, and stone-pines. The heaths were in full flower, and looked brilliant in the extreme, and here and there were patches of gorse. The road is fine, and has only recently been made. The country is very thinly populated, so that we passed not more than two or three villages on the way, and in none of them did I see signs of old churches of any interest. It is difficult to picture anything more wretched than the state of the Gallegan peasantry as we saw them on this road. They were very dirty, and clothed in the merest rags: the boys frequently with nothing on but a shirt, and that all in tatters; and the women with but little more in quantity, and nothing better in quality. The poorest Irish would have some difficulty in showing that their misery is greater than that of these poor Gallegans.

My journey to Santiago was quite an experiment. I had been able to learn nothing whatever about the cathedral (2) before going there, and I was uncertain whether I should not find the mere wreck of an old church, overlaid everywhere with additions by architects of the Berruguetesque or Churrugieresque schools, instead of the old church which I knew had once stood there. In all my Spanish journeys there had been somewhat of this pleasant element of uncertainty as to what I was to find; but here my ignorance was complete, and as the journey was a long one to make on speculation, it was not a little fortunate that

my faith was rewarded by the discovery of a church of extreme magnificence and interest.

The weary day wore on as we toiled on and on upon our pilgrimage, and it was nearly dark before we reached the entrance of the city, and after much delay found ourselves following a porter up the steep streets and alleys which lead up from the diligence Fonda to the principal inn, which happens fortunately to be very near the one interesting spot in the city—the cathedral. The next morning showed us not only the exterior of the city, but enabled us also to form a good idea of its surroundings. It stands on the slope of a steep hill, with great bare and bleak hills on all sides, rising generally to a great height. From some of them the views are no doubt very fine, and the town with its towers and walls may well look more imposing than it does on a nearer view.

For, to say the truth, if the cathedral be left out of consideration, Santiago is a disappointing place. There is none of the evidence of the presence of pilgrims which might be expected, and I suspect a genuine pilgrim is a very rare article indeed. I never saw more than one, and he proclaimed his intentions only by the multitude of his scallop-shells fastened on wherever his rags would allow; but I fear much he was a professional pilgrim; he was begging lustily at Zaragoza, and seemed to have been many years there on the same errand, without getting very far on his road. And there is not much evidence in the town itself of its history and pretensions to antiquity; for, as is so often the case in Spain, so great was the wealth possessed by the Church in the seventeenth and early part of the eighteenth century, that all the churches and religious houses were rebuilt about that time, and now, in place of mediæval churches and convents, there are none but enormous Renaissance erections on all sides; and as they are bad examples of their class, little pleasure is to be derived from looking at them, either outside or inside.

Perhaps some exception ought to be made from this general depreciation of the buildings at Santiago in favour of the *entourage* of the cathedral; for here there is a sumptuous church opening on all sides to Plazas of grand size, and surrounded by buildings all having more or less architectural pretension. Steep flights of steps lead from one Plaza to another, a fountain plays among quarrelsome water-carriers in one, and in another not only does an old woman retail scallop-shells to those who want them, but a tribe of market people ply their trade, cover the flags with

their bright fruit, make the ear tired with their eternal wrangle, and the eye delighted with their gay choice of colours for sashes, headgear, and what not.

The whole record of the foundation of this cathedral is a great deal too long to enter upon here; but fortunately enough remains of its architectural history to make the story of the present building both intelligible and interesting, and to this I must now ask the attention of my readers.

There seems to have been a church founded here in or about the year 868,¹ which is said to have been completed in thirty-one years,² and consecrated in A.D. 899. Of this church nothing now remains; but the contemporary deed of gift to the church by the King Alfonso III., and the account of the altars and relics existing in it at the time, are of considerable interest.³

I need hardly say how much store was laid by the clergy of Santiago on their possession of the body of the Apostle. Mr. Ford⁴ gives only too amusing, if it is, as I fear, only too true, a version of the story of the Saint's remains. Suffice it here to say, that there no longer seem to be great pilgrimages to his shrine, and that even in Spain the old belief in the miracle-working power of his bones seems now practically to have died out.⁵

¹ *España Sagrada*, xix. 91.

² *Historia del Apostol Sanctiago*, by Mauro Castella Ferrer, p. 463.

³ The latter document in particular has much architectural interest, and is worth transcribing in part, on account of its references to these early buildings, and their materials and furniture. It commences as follows:—

"In nomine Domini nostri Jesu Christi, edificatum est Templum Sancti Salvatoris, et Sancti Jacobi Apostoli in locum Arcis Marmoricis territorio Galleciæ per institutionem gloriosissimi Principis Adefonsi III. cum conjugē Scemenia sub Pontifice loci ejusdem Sisnando Episcopo" (877-903). "Supplex egregii eximii Principis Ordonii proles ego Adefonsus Principi cum prædicto antistite statuimus ædificare domum Domini et restaurare Templum ad tumulum sepulchri Apostoli, quod antiquitus construxerat divæ memoriæ Dominus Adefonsus Magnus ex petra et luto opere parvo. Nos quidem inspiratione divina adlati cum subditis ac familia nostra adduximus in sanctum locum ex Hispania inter agmina Maurorum, quæ eligimus de Civitate Eabecæ petras marmoreas quas avi nostri ratibus per Pontum transvexerunt, et ex eis pulchras domos ædificaverunt, quæ ab inimicis destructæ manebant. Unde quoque ostium principale Occidentalis partis ex ipsis marmoribus est appositum: supercilia vero liminaris Sedis invenimus sicut antiqua sessio fuerat miro opere sculpta. Ostium de sinistro juxta Oraculum Baptistæ et Martyris Joannis quem simili modo fundavimus, et de puris lapidibus construximus columnas sex cum basibus todidem posuimus, ubi abbobuta tribunalis est constructa, vel alias columnas sculptas supra quas portius imminet de oppido Portucalense ratibus deportatas adduximus quadras, et calcem unde sunt ædificatæ columnæ decem et VIII. cum aliis columnellis marmoreis simili modo navigio."—*España Sagrada*, xix. 344, Appendix.

⁴ *Handbook of Spain*, 600-605.

⁵ The authors of the *Manual del Viagero en la Catedral de Santiago* are, however, not quite of this opinion. They say of it, "The monument which

Nothing could, however, have been stronger than the old faith in their patron, and the extreme wealth brought to the church by the pilgrimages made of old to his shrine from all parts of Europe would no doubt have involved the entire destruction of all remains of the early church, in order to its reconstruction on a far grander scale, had it not been destroyed, so far as possible, in the century after its erection, by the Moors under Almanzor.

From the end of the tenth century I find no mention of the cathedral until the episcopate of Diego Gelmirez, in whose time Santiago was made an archbishopric. He was consecrated in the year 1100, and died in A.D. 1130, and the history of his archiepiscopate is given in great detail in the curious contemporary chronicle, the *Historia Compostellana*.¹ Here it is recorded that, in A.D. 1128, "forty-six years after the commencement of the new church of S. James," the bishop, finding that the subordinate buildings were so poor that strangers absolutely "wandered about looking for where the cloisters and offices might be," called his chapter together, and urged upon them the necessity of remedying so grave a defect, finishing his speech by the offer of a hundred marks of pure silver, thirty at once, and the rest at the end of a year.² This would put the commencement of the new cathedral in the year 1082, during the episcopate of Diego Peláez, though, as will be seen, the same History elsewhere says that the church was commenced in A.D. 1078, a date which occurs also on the south transept door-jamb; and the works must have been carried on during the time of his successors, Pedro II. and Dalmatius (a monk of Cluny), to its completion under Gelmirez.³ It was in the time of this

we examine belongs not to Santiago, to Galicia, to Spain, but is the patrimony of the Christian religion, of the Catholic world; since in all fervent souls something remains of the ancient and fervent faith of our forefathers." This guide-book, by the way, is one of the worst I ever met with.

¹ The twentieth volume of *España Sagrada* is entirely occupied with the reprint of this chronicle.

² *Histor. Compost.* lib. iii. cap. 1.

³ "Postquam supradictus Episcopus," "ad Ecclesiam Patroni sui B. Jacobi Apostoli rediens, circa eam indefessam sollicitudinem exhibuit." "Reversus itaque a supradicta expeditione, vetustissimam Ecclesiolam obrui præcepit, quæ intra immensam novæ ecclesiæ capacitatem imminente ruina lapsum minabatur. Hæc in longitudinem ad altare B. Jacobi protendebatur ab illo pilari qui juxta principalem ecclesiæ parietem, et secus unum de quatuor principalibus pilaribus existit, in sinistra parte superiorum partem chori ingredientibus pone relinquitur, et juxta fores pontificalis Palatii Ecclesiam introeuntibus, recta fronte opponitur, et in alia parte, id est in dextera, a pilari opposito supradicto pilari usque ad idem altare: latitudo vero illius eadem quæ modo et chori est. Destructa illa

bishop, in the year 1117, it is recorded in the Chronicle, that during a violent tumult in the city, in which both the bishop and queen hardly escaped alive, the cathedral was set on fire by the mob; but its construction is so nearly fireproof, that doubtless it was the furniture only that was really burnt; for, eleven years later, in A.D. 1128, the bishop, in his speech to the chapter, already mentioned, speaks of the church as being extremely beautiful, and, indeed, renowned for its beauty.¹ In A.D. 1124 two canons of Santiago were collecting money for the works at the cathedral in Sicily and Apulia,² and the cloister, which was commenced in A.D. 1128, seems to have been still unfinished in A.D. 1134.³ From this date until A.D. 1168 I find no record of any alteration; but in this year Ferdinand II. issued a warrant⁴ for the payment of the master of the works—one Matthew—and twenty years later, the same master of the works put the following inscription on the under side of the lintel of the western door:—

“Anno : ab : Incarnatione : Dni : Mo. Co LXXXVIIIvo; Era Ia CCXXh. VI.a: Die K-L. Aprilis : supra liniaria : Principalium : portaliū.”

“Ecclesiæ : Beati : Jacobi : sunt collocata : Per : Magistrum : Matheum : qui : a : fundamentis : ipsorum : portaliū : gessit : magisterium.”⁵

In addition to these evidences, there are two others in the church itself; one, to which I shall refer again, a date which I take to be A.D. 1078, on the jamb of the south transept doorway; and the other, an inscription which, with some modifications, is repeated several times round the margins of circles let into the aisle walls, in the centre of which are the dedication crosses. The date on one of these over the west side of the transept, as

Ecclesia in era I. C. L.” (A.D. 1112) “quæ quasi obumbraculum totius, Ecclesiæ esse videbatur, Chorum satis competentem ibidem composuit, qui usque in hodiernum diem Dei gratia et B. Jacobi per industriam ejusdem Episcopi optimi Cleri excellentia egregie decoratur. Ipse quoque Episcopus, utpote sapiens architectus, in ejusdem chori dextro capite fecit supereminens pulpitu, in quo Cantores, atque Subdiacones officii sui ordinem peragunt. In sinistro vero aliud, ubi lectiones et Evangelia leguntur. Est autem B. Jacobi specialis et præclara nova ecclesia incapta Era I. C. XVI.—V. idus Jul.” (A.D. 1078).—*Histor. Compost.* lib. i. cap. 78.

¹ The Archbishop's words were as follows:—“Fratres, nostra ecclesia non nostris sed Dei gratia et nostri Patroni Beatissimi Apostoli Jacobi meritis maximi et celeberrimi est nominis, et ultra portus et citra portus pro ditissima et nobilissima reputatur.” “Quælibet Sedes ultra portus pulchriora et valentiora ædificia habet quam nostra,” etc., etc.—*Hist. Compost.* lib. iii. cap. 1.

² *Histor. Compost.* lib. ii. cap. 64.

³ *Ibid.* lib. iii. cap. 36.

⁴ See Appendix.

⁵ Before this time, in 1161, Master Matthew had built the bridge of Cesures in Galicia.—Cean Bermudez, *Arq. de España*, i. 33.

well as I could read it, appeared to me to be A.D. 1154;¹ but as the inscriptions vary somewhat round the different crosses, it is possible that the dates may vary also with the time of completion of the various parts of the building; and I regret therefore that I did not make accurate copies of all of them. The dedication crosses are all floriated at the ends, and have in the spandrels between the arms of the cross—above, the sun and moon, and below, the letters A and Ω. Three of these remain on each side of the nave, two in each transept, and two in the choir aisle, twelve in all. I saw none on the exterior; but so little of the old external walls can now be seen that this is not to be wondered at.

It is now time to describe the building itself, the age of its various parts having been pretty accurately defined by the documentary evidence which I have quoted.

This cathedral is of singular interest, not only on account of its unusual completeness, and the general unity of style which marks it, but still more because it is both in plan and design a very curiously exact repetition of the church of S. Sernin at Toulouse.² But S. Sernin is earlier in date by several years, having been commenced by S. Raymond in A.D. 1060, and consecrated by Pope Urban II. in A.D. 1096; and the cathedral at Santiago can only be regarded, therefore, as to a great extent a copy of S. Sernin, the materials being, however different, since granite was used in its construction in place of the brick and stone with which its prototype was constructed.

The dimensions of the two churches do not differ very much; Santiago has one bay less in its nave, but one bay more in each transept; it has only one aisle, whilst S. Sernin has two on each side of the nave; and its two towers are placed north and south of the west front, instead of to the west of it, as they are at S. Sernin. The arrangement of the chevet and of the chapels on the east of the transepts was the same in both churches. Here they still exist in the chevet, but in the transepts traces of them are only to be found after careful examination. Three of them, indeed, are quite destroyed, though slight traces still exist of the arches which opened into them from the aisles, but the fourth has been preserved by a piece of vandalism for which one must be grateful. It has been converted into a passage-way to a

¹ "Era : millena : nova : vicies : duodena."

² By a strange coincidence, S. Sernin boasts of having, among the bones of several of the apostles, those of S. James; though, of course, this would be strongly denied at Compostella.

small church which once stood detached to the north-east of the cathedral, and the access to which was by a western doorway. The erection of a modern chapel blocked up the access to this doorway, and an opening was then made through the northern chapel of the north transept, which has thus been saved from the fate which has befallen the others. The position and size of these chapels are indicated in the ground-plan.

The proportions of the several parts of the plans of the two churches are also nearly identical; and owing in part to the arrangement of the groining piers of the transepts, in which the aisles are returned round the north and south ends, the transept fronts in both churches have the very unusual arrangement of two doorways side by side—a central single doorway being impossible. The triforium galleries surround the whole church, being carried across the west end and the ends of the transepts, so that a procession might easily ascend from the west end, by the tower staircases—which are unusually broad and spacious—and make the entire circuit of the church. Finally, the sections of both these great churches are as nearly as possible the same; their naves being covered with barrel-vaults, their aisles with quadripartite vaults, and the triforia over the aisles with quadrant vaults, abutting against and sustaining as with a continuous flying buttress the great waggon-vaults of their naves.¹

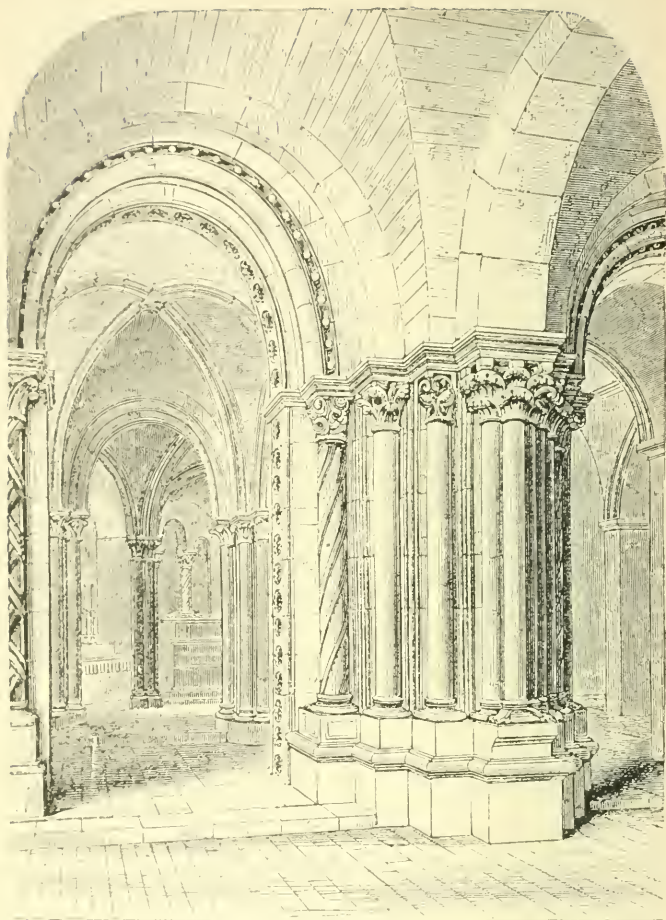
The exterior of the cathedral at Santiago—to a more detailed description of which I must now devote myself—is almost

¹ The church from which the cathedral at Santiago was copied is one of a considerable number in France, all of which have the same general characteristics. I have already given some description of them in a paper read before the Royal Institute of British Architects in 1861, and published in their *Transactions*. The following list of some of the more remarkable examples will show both their date and locale:—Conques, completed in A.D. 1060; S. Etienne, Nevers, commenced in A.D. 1063, consecrated A.D. 1097; S. Eutrope, Saintes, consecrated in A.D. 1096; S. Gènes, A.D. 1016-1120; S. Hilary, Poitiers, A.D. 1049; Moutierneuf, Poitiers, A.D. 1069-1096; S. Radigonde, Poitiers, A.D. 1099; S. Amable, Riom, A.D. 1077-1120; S. Sernin, Toulouse, A.D. 1060-1096; Cluny, A.D. 1089-1131; Dorat (Haute Vienne) and Bénévente (Creuse), A.D. 1150-1200; S. Saturnin; Volvic; Issoire; S. Nectaire; N. D. du Port, Clermont Ferrand, *circa* A.D. 1080-1160; Brioude, A.D. 1200. There is a church of similar construction at Granson, on the lake of Neuchâtel. These churches agree generally in their plans, but especially in those of their chevets (which almost invariably have chapels in the alternate bays only). Their sections are also alike, the triforia galleries being always vaulted with a continuous half-barrel or quadrant vault, and they have no clerestories. No doubt they were always intended to receive stone roofs, without any use of timber; and this mode of covering has been carefully restored recently at N. D. du Port, Clermont Ferrand.

completely obscured and overlaid by modern additions. The two old western steeples shown on the plan are old only about as high as the side walls of the church, and have been raised to a very considerable height, and finished externally with a lavish display of pilasters, balustrades, vases, and what not, till they finish in a sort of pepper-box fashion with small cupolas. Between them is a lofty niche over the west front, which contains a statue of the tutelar.¹ Fortunately the whole of the façade between the steeples was built on in front of, and without destroying, Master Matthew's great work, the western porch. The ground falls considerably to the west, and a rather picturesque quadruple flight of steps, arranged in a complicated fashion, leads up from the Plaza to the doors. There are two great and two lesser flights of steps, so that a procession going up might be divided into four lines; a doorway in the centre of the western wall below these steps leads into a chapel constructed below the western porch. This is now called the Chapel of S. Joseph, but seems to have been known of old as Santiago la Vajo (4). The arrangement of its plan is very peculiar.² There are two large central piers east and west of a sort of transept; to the west of this are two old arches, and then the modern passage leading to the doorway at the foot of the steps. To the east of the transept is an apse consisting of an aisle formed round the great central pier, with small recesses for altars round it. The aisle is covered with a round-arched waggon-vault; it has five recesses for altars; the easternmost *seems* to have a square east end, the next to it on either side have apses, and the others are very shallow recesses hardly large enough for altars. There can be no doubt whatever, I think, that this is the work on which Master Matthew was first employed; it is exactly under the porch and doorway, on which, as we know by the inscription on the lintel of the door, he wrought; and as he was first at work here in A.D. 1168, and finished the doors in A.D. 1188, we may safely put down this chapel as having been begun and finished *circa* A.D. 1168-75. In this the bases are some of them square, some circular in plan; the sculpture of the capitals is elaborate and similar in character to most of the later work in the cathedral. The favourite device of pairs of animals regarding each other is frequently repeated; and there are moulded and spiral shafts in the jambs of the western arches. My view of the interior of this

¹ This façade was designed by D. Ventura Rodriguez, in 1764 (3).

² The ground-plan of this chapel is shown on Plate IX., above the plan of the cathedral.



SANTIAGO CATHEDRAL
INTERIOR OF LOWER CHURCH

interesting little chapel will best explain its general character and peculiarities, and it will be felt, I think, that it is certainly not earlier than the date I have assigned, and therefore, like the great western door, of later date than the church in connection with which it was built. Behind the eastern altar there is an arcade of three arches forming a kind of reredos, but I am not at all sure whether they are in their old places, and I am inclined to think it more likely that there is an eastern apse behind them. There is nothing to prove whether there were any western doors to this chapel, and as all the light must originally have come through the western arches, it would seem to be most probable that there were none. The chapel is now kept locked, and is but seldom used for service.¹

To return to the west front. This is the centre only of a vast architectural façade; to the right of the church being the chapter-house and other rooms on the west side of the cloister, and to the left another long line of dependent buildings. The Plaza is bounded by public buildings on its other three sides;² and beyond, to the west, the ground falling very rapidly affords a fine view across the valley to the picturesque mountain-like ranges which bound the landscape. This is the Plaza Mayor or "*del Hospital*."

Going northward from the west entrance, and turning presently to the east, a low groined gateway is reached, which leads into another Plaza fronting the north transept. This gateway is a work of the twelfth century, but of the simplest kind. The Plaza de San Martin, to the north of the cathedral, is picturesquely irregular; its north side is occupied by a vast convent of S. Martin, and the ground slopes down steeply from it to the cathedral. Here is the gayest and busiest market-place of the town, and the best spot for studying the noisy cries and the bright dresses of the Gallegan peasantry (5). They are to be seen on a Sunday, especially, in all their finery—bright, picturesque, and happy looking, for those who can afford to dress smartly are happy, and those who cannot don't seem to come—selling and buying every possible kind of ware, save, perhaps, the large stock of scallop-shells, which, though they are kept for sale with due regard to the *genius loci*, seemed to me never to

¹ The sacristan will not trouble himself to show this chapel, and it was by a mere accident that I discovered its existence. The keys are kept by the carpenter of the chapter, whose shop is below the chapter-house.

² The seminario on the west, the hospital on the north, and the College of San Jerónimo on the south side.

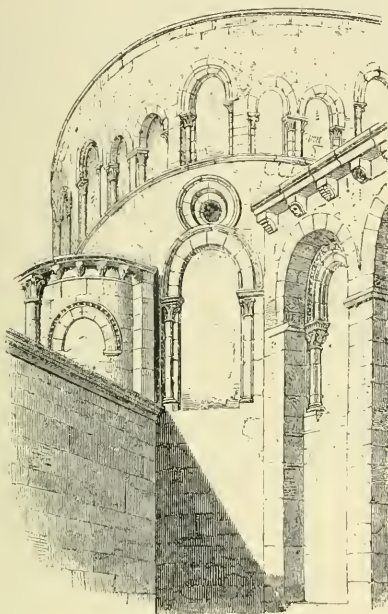


SANTIAGO CATHEDRAL
SHAFTS IN SOUTH DOORWAY

attract any one to become a purchaser, and to adopt the badge of S. James!

The whole of the northern front of the transept and church is modernised. But to the east of it lies the little church used as the Parroquia, and which will be better described when I go to the interior, as externally it has no old feature save a simple little window in its north wall.

A narrow passage from the Plaza de San Martin leads to the



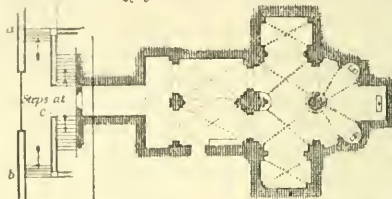
EXTERIOR OF CHEVET

upper side of a third Plaza opposite the east end; and here, though the cathedral has been enclosed within square modern walls, there is fortunately just enough left of the exterior of the eastern chapel and part of the apse enclosed in a small court to explain its whole original design. The entrance to this court is garnished with a number of statues, evidently, I think, taken from a doorway, and perhaps from the destroyed north doorway.¹

¹ This is the Puerta Santa, and is only opened by the archbishop in years of jubilee.

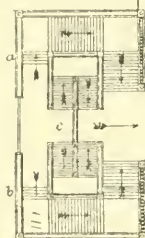
Groined Passage

Plan of Chapel under Western Porch.



Plaza Mayor

A large modern Domed Chapel entered from Nave, occupies this



or
del Hospital

Staple

Porch

Nave

Lower

Chapel
(de Alva)

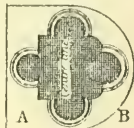
*Range of Buildings of two
storeys, not original.*

Sacra

Library

Chapter
Room

Cloisters



Plan of the Columns

of the Cathedral &c.

Masons Marks on internal Walls.

in lower part of Nave west-end

in Nave Triforium
and Tower.

in North Transept.

Plaza de S. Martin

Modern Chapel

Modern Passage

Parroquia

Transept

Modern Chapel

Coro

Capilla Mayor

Modern Chapel

Shop

Plaza

Modern Entrance

Clock Tower

Plaza de los Plateros.

Before 1200

13th Century

14th Century

15th & 16th Centy

Modern.

10 20 30 40 50 60 70 80 90 100 110 120 130 140 150 Ft.
Metres 10 Met

40 Varas

of the Cathedral &c.

Masons Marks on internal Walls.

in lower part of Nave west-end

in Nave Triforium
and Tower.

in North Transept.

Plaza de S. Martin

Modern Chapel

Parroquia

Modern Passage

Transept

Modern Chapel

Coro

Capilla Mayor

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Plaza de S. Martin

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Modern Passage

Parroquia

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Coro

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Modern Chapel

Shop

Plaza

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Clock Tower

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13th Century
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Plaza de los Plateros.

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13th Century
14th Century
15th & 16th Cent.
Modern.

10 20 30 40 50 60 70 80 90 100 110 120 130 140 150 Ft.
Metres 10 Met.

40 Varas

of the Cathedral &c.

Masons Marks on internal Walls.

in lower part of Nave west-end

in Nave Triforium
and Tower.

in North Transept.

Plaza de S. Martin

Modern Chapel

Parroquia

Modern Passage

Transept

Modern Chapel

Coro

Capilla Mayor

Modern Chapel

Shop

Plaza

Modern Entrance

Clock Tower

Plaza de los Plateros.

Before 1200
13th Century
14th Century
15th & 16th Cent.
Modern.

10 20 30 40 50 60 70 80 90 100 110 120 130 140 150 Ft.
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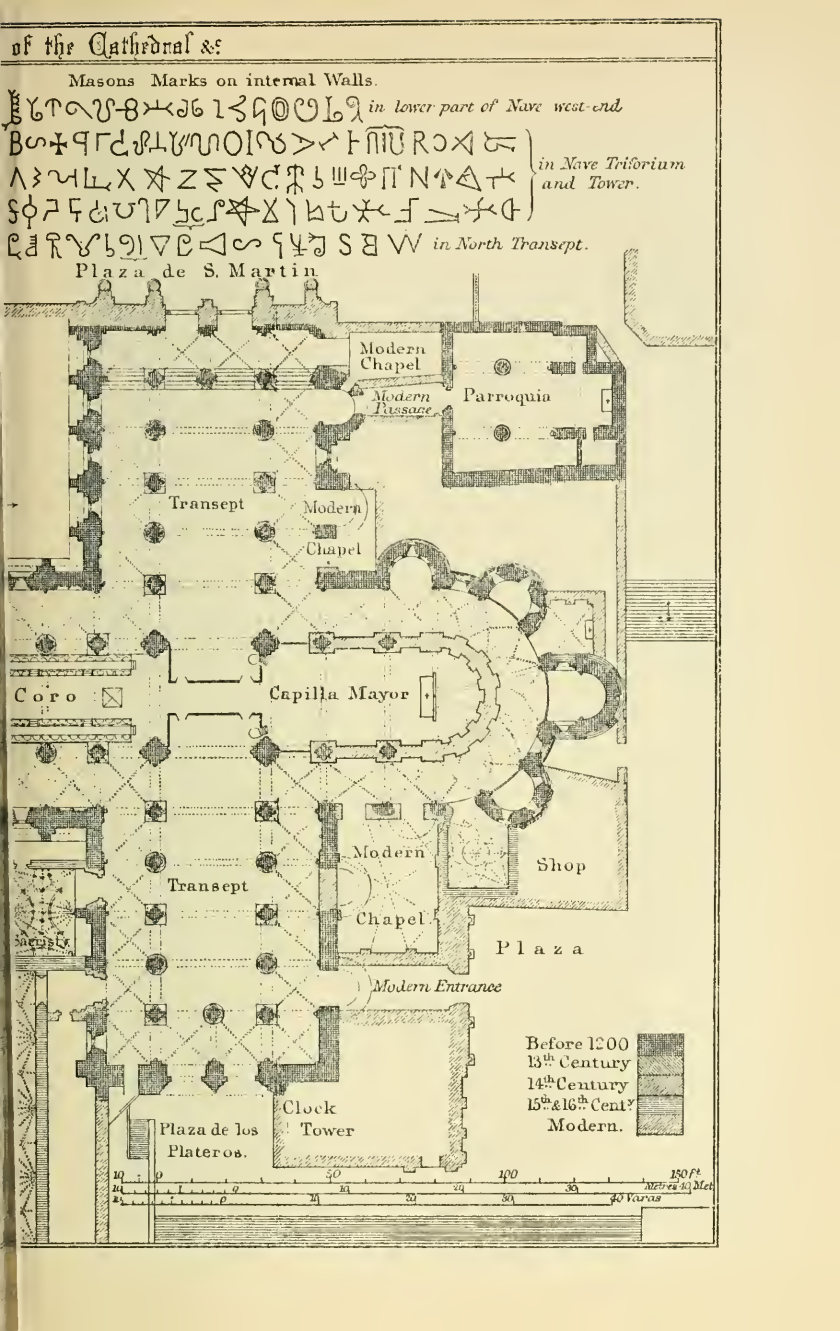
Clock Tower

Plaza de los Plateros.

Before 1200
13th Century
14th Century
15th & 16th Cent.
Modern.

10 20 30 40 50 60 70 80 90 100 110 120 130 140 150 Ft.
Metres 10 Met.

40 Varas



From this fragment of the chevet, it seems that the eastern chapel was surrounded with a deeply recessed arcading, within which were broad, round-arched windows with moulded archivolts carried on shafts with sculptured capitals. The smaller chapels have three-quarter shafts running up to the cornices placed between the windows, and the corbel-tables at the eaves are simple and bold. The bay between the chapels has a window occupying the whole space in width, and above it is a small circular window, a feature which occurs in almost exactly the same position in S. Sernin, Toulouse.¹ A string-course is carried round the aisle wall above the roofs of the chapels, and the wall is continued up to the same level as the walls of the aisles of the church, and has alternately windows and arcading in its outer elevation. This is perhaps the only serious difference between the design of this church and that of S. Sernin. There the triforia are not carried round the chevet, and consequently the aisle walls are not so lofty, and the clerestory of the apse is shown in the usual way.

Continuing the circuit of the cathedral, we now reach the Plaza de los Plateros, in front of the south transept. This is bounded on the west side by the outer walls of the cloisters, and a broad flight of steps all across the Plaza leads up to the transept. This has been to some extent damaged by the erection of a lofty clock-tower projecting at its south-east angle, in which are the clock and the bells. The rest of the old façade is fortunately preserved. It has two doorways in the centre division, and two grand and deeply recessed windows above them. The ends of the aisles seem to have been similarly treated above. The finish of the transept wall is modern, but there still remain two canopies in it, under one of which is a figure of the Blessed Virgin, no doubt part of a sculpture of the Annunciation.

The detail of the work in this front is of great interest, inasmuch as it is clearly by another and an earlier workman than that of the western part of the church. There are three shafts in each jamb of the doors, whereof the outer are of marble, the rest of stone. These marble shafts are carved with extreme delicacy with a series of figures in niches, the niches having round arches, which rest upon carved and twisted columns separating the figures. The work is so characteristic as to deserve illus-

¹ It is just open to doubt whether the small circular window over the other is original, but I think the similarity to S. Sernin is in favour of its being so, in spite of some awkwardness in the mode of its introduction, which would otherwise have inclined me to doubt it.

tration. It is executed almost everywhere with that admirable delicacy so conspicuous in early Romanesque sculpture. The other shafts are twisted and carved in very bold fashion.

The jamb of this door retains an inscription deeply cut in large letters, which appears to give the same date—Era 1116, 5 Ides of July—that I have already quoted from the *Historia Compostellana*. But as the reading of this inscription is open to doubt, I think it well to engrave it. This Era would make the date of these doors agree with the commencement of the works. Figures on either side support the ends of the lintels of the doors, but the tympana and the wall above for some feet are covered with pieces of sculpture, evidently taken down and refixed where they are now seen. They are arranged, in short, like the casts at the Crystal Palace, as if the wall were part of a museum. One of the stones in the tympanum of the eastern door has the Crowning with Thorns and the Scourging; and on other stones above are portions of a Descent into Hades, in which asses with wings are shown kneeling to our Lord. Asses and other beasts are carved elsewhere, and altogether the whole work has a rude barbaric splendour characteristic of its age (6).



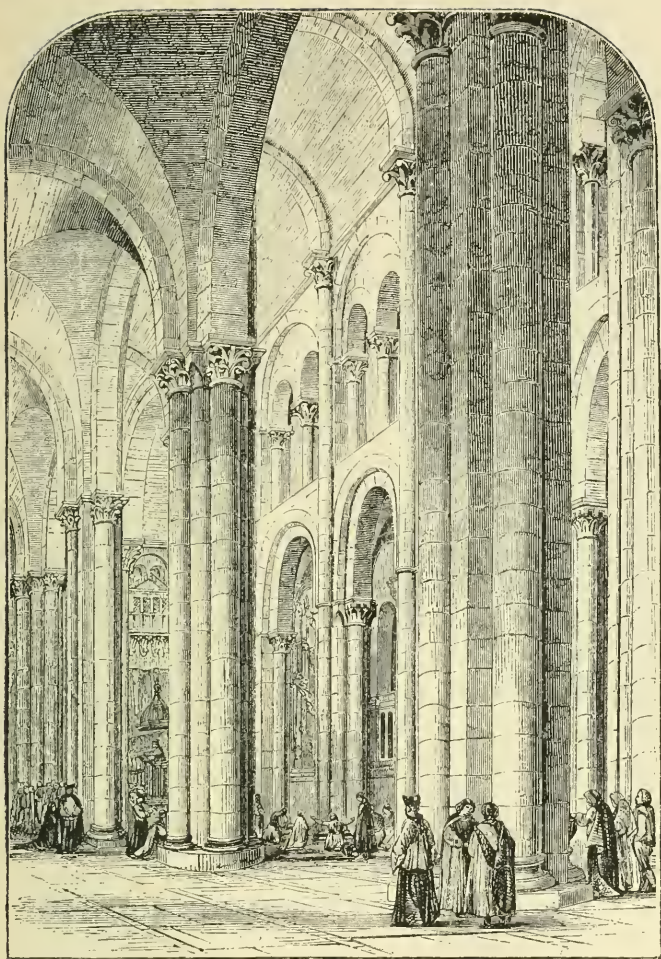
INSCRIPTION ON
SOUTH DOOR

The windows above deserve special notice. Their shafts and archivolts are very richly twisted and carved, and the cusping of the inner arch is of a rare kind. It consists of five complete foils, so that the points of the lowest cusp rest on the capital, and, to a certain extent, the effect of a horse-shoe arch is produced (7). This might be hastily assumed to be a feature borrowed from the Moors; but the curious fact is that this very rare form of cusping is seen in many, if not most, of the churches of the Auvergnat type, to which reference has already been made, and it must be regarded here, therefore, as another proof of the foreign origin of most of the work at Santiago, rather than of any Moorish influence. I have omitted to say that in addition to the other steeples there is a modern dome over the crossing. The lower part of the lantern is old, and the four piers which support it are somewhat larger than the rest.

The exterior of the cloister is rather Renaissance than Gothic in its character, and has some picturesque small towers at the angles.

Altogether the impression which is first given here is of a church which has been completely altered by Renaissance architects of rather a more picturesque turn of mind than is usual; and the generally similar character of the work in the Plazas on the several sides of the church gives certainly a rather stately, though to me it was a very disappointing, *tout ensemble*.

With such feelings about the exterior, the complete change in the character of the work as one goes through the door is more than usually striking, for you are at once transferred from what is all modern, to what is almost all very old, uniform, and but little disturbed. The interior of the transepts is very impressive; their length is not far from equal to that of the nave, and the view is less interrupted than in it, as the rails between the Coro and the Capilla mayor are very light, and the stalls are all to the west of the crossing. The whole detail of the design is extremely simple. The piers are alternated throughout the church of the two sections given on my ground-plan. The capitals are all carved, generally with foliage, but sometimes with pairs of birds and beasts. Engaged columns run up from the floor to the vault, and carry transverse ribs or arches below the great waggon-vault. The triforium opens to the nave with a round arch, subdivided with two arches, carried on a detached shaft. I have already described the construction, and I need only add here that the buttresses, which appear on the ground-plan, are all connected by arches thrown from one to the other, so that the eaves of the roof project in front of their outside face. There is consequently an enormous thickness of wall to resist the weight and thrust of the continuous vault of the triforium, these arches between the buttresses having been contrived in order to render the whole wall as rigid and uniform in its resistance to the thrust as possible. The height of the interior, from the floor to the centre of the barrel-vault of the nave, is a little over seventy feet. This dimension is, of course, insignificant if compared with the height of many later churches; but it must be borne in mind that here there is no clerestory, and that, owing to its absence, there is much less light in the upper part of the church than is usual, and one consequence of this partial gloom is a great apparent increase in the size of every part of the building. The original windows remain throughout the greater part of the church. In the aisles they have jamb-shafts inside, and in both aisles and triforia there are jamb-shafts outside. Occasionally at the angles of the aisles, and elsewhere where it was impossible to pierce the walls for windows, sunk arcading,



SANTIAGO CATHEDRAL

INTERIOR OF SOUTH TRANSEPT, LOOKING NORTH-EAST

corresponding with them in outline and detail, is substituted for them.

The chevet has been a good deal altered; most of the chapels remain, but the columns and arches round the choir have all been destroyed, or, at any rate, so covered over with modern work as to be no longer visible. A thirteenth-century chapel has been added on the north of the apse, and a small chapel of the fifteenth century and a large one of the Renaissance period on its south-west side. The other alterations are clearly indicated on the engraving of the ground-plan.

I have already said that the existing Renaissance steeples at the west end are built upon the lower portions of the original Romanesque towers. The only peculiarity about these is the planning of their staircases. The steps are carried all round the steeple in the thickness of the wall, and the central space is made use of for a succession of small chambers one over the other. These staircases are unusually wide and good, and their mode of construction is obviously very strong.

The only other part of the church of the same age as the original fabric is the detached chapel to the north-east of it. This seems to have had originally no connection whatever with the cathedral, the passage which now leads to its western doorway from the north transept being quite modern, and made for the reason already mentioned. Its western door is a good late Romanesque work, with shafts in the jambs, and carved capitals. The church itself consists of a nave and aisles of two bays in length, and a chancel with an aisle on either side. The columns are cylindrical, with carved capitals. The aisles have quadrant vaults, and the nave a semi-circular ceiling, but I could not ascertain certainly whether this was of plaster or stone. If the latter, then this little church affords a very interesting example of the adaptation of precisely the same mode of construction that we see in the great cathedral by its side, viz. the waggon-vault in the nave supported on either side by the quadrant vaults of the aisles (8).

It is now necessary to say something about what is to an architect the chief glory of this noble church—its grand western entrance, fitly called the *Portico de la Gloria*. On the whole, with no small experience to warrant my speaking, and yet with a due sense of the rashness of too general an approval, I cannot avoid pronouncing this effort of Master Matthew's at Santiago to be one of the greatest glories of Christian art.¹ Its scale is

¹ See the illustration of this doorway in the frontispiece.

not very grand, but in every other respect it is quite admirable, and there is a freshness and originality about the whole of the detail which cannot be praised too much. If we consider the facts with which we are acquainted, we may understand how it is that it has these great merits. Let us assume that Master Matthew was, as he no doubt was, extremely skilled when the king sent him to Santiago with his special warrant and recommendation. From that time until the happy day came, after twenty years of anxious labour, when he was able to write his inscription on the lintel of the door, it is probable that this same man wrought on slowly but systematically on this great work. During all this time he had but a very moderate opportunity of studying similar works in his own neighbourhood, or of receiving incitement by the competition of others of his craft; and I think the whole work bears about it evidence that this was its history. There is up to a certain point a conformity to common custom and precedent, and yet at the same time a constant freshness and originality about it which seems to me to show that its sculptor was not in the habit of seeing other similar works during its progress. The figures are almost all placed in attitudes evidently selected with a view to giving them life and piquancy. But these attitudes are singularly unconventional; and though they are by no means always successful to an eye educated in the nineteenth century, they have all of them graces and merits which are almost entirely unseen in the productions of nineteenth-century sculptors;



CENTRAL SHAFT OF WESTERN
DOORWAY

whilst, again, in strong contrast to what is now almost the invariable rule, there is no doubt that here we have the absolute handiwork of the sculptor, and not a design only, the execution of which has been relegated to a band of unknown and unrewarded assistants! The detail of some of the smaller portions, as *e.g.* of the sculptured shafts, is exquisitely refined and delicate, beautifully executed, and with a singular appreciation, in some respects, of the good points of classic sculpture.

The doorways are three in number, of which that in the centre opens into the nave, and those on either side into the aisles. In front of these doors is a western porch, of three groined divisions in width, the outer face of which has been built up and concealed by the modern western façade. The groining ribs of this porch are very richly decorated with sculpture of foliage in their mouldings. The general design of the doors will be best understood by reference to the engraving which I give of them. The bases are all very bold, and rest generally on monsters. That under the central shaft has a figure of a man with his arms round the necks of two open-mouthed winged monsters;¹ whilst on the other side is a figure of a person kneeling towards the east, in prayer, and about life-size. The central shaft is of marble, and carved all over with the tree of Jesse. The detail of this shaft is so delicate and characteristic of the whole work, that I give an engraving of a portion of it; nothing can be prettier or more graceful than the design, and the execution is admirable. The corresponding shaft in either jamb is also sculptured, but in these there is no story, the shafts being twisted with carving of foliage and figures in the alternate members. The capital of the central shaft has the figures of the Holy Trinity, with angels on either side censing; and above is a grand sitting figure of S. James, with a scroll in his right hand, and a palmer's staff in the other. His nimbus is studded with large crystals; but as none of the other figures throughout the door have nimbi, I suspect it has been added in his case. The main capital of the central shaft, above the saint's head, has on three sides the Temptation of our Lord, and on its fourth side angels coming and ministering to Him.

The tympanum of this central door has a central seated figure

¹ I could not discern the meaning of a rite the people perform here. They kneel down and put the thumb and three fingers of one hand into some cavities just fitted for them in the sculpture of the central shaft, and then with the other hand throw sand down the throats of the monsters. Some people evidently did this much to their own satisfaction, whilst an acolyte called my attention to the practice as being curious and unintelligible.

of our Lord, holding up His open hands. Around Him are the four Evangelists, three of them with their emblematic beasts standing up on their hind legs, with their paws in the Evangelists' laps. Beyond them are angels holding the various instruments of the passion, and above these angels a multitude of small figures worshipping—the hundred and forty-four thousand, many of them naked, *i.e.* free from sin. The archivolt is perhaps the most striking feature in the whole work, having sitting figures of the four-and-twenty elders arranged around its circumference, in a manner at once quite original and singularly effective. The skill and fancy shown in the treatment of this crowd of figures is beyond praise, and there is a certain degree of barbaric splendour about the profuse richness of the work which is wonderfully attractive. Traces everywhere remain of the old delicate colouring with which the sculpture was covered, and this just suffices to give a beautiful tone to the whole work (9).

The side jambs have standing figures on a level with that of S. James. On the north jamb are Jeremiah, Daniel, Isaiah, and Moses, and on the opposite side S. Paul, and, I suppose, other New Testament saints, though I could not tell which (10). The side doorways, though there is no sculpture in their tympana, have figures corresponding with the others in their jambs. Under the groining against the north wall is an angel blowing a trumpet, and there are other angels against the springing of the groining ribs holding children in their hands.

The whole scheme is, in fact, a Last Judgment, treated in a very unconventional manner; the point which most invites hostile criticism being the kind of equality which the sculptor has given to the figures of our Lord and S. James, both being seated, and both in the central position; and though the figure of the apostle is below that of his Lord, it is still the more conspicuous of the two.

The design of the interior of the west end is peculiar. The doorway occupies the same space in height as the nave arches; above it the triforium is carried across over the porch, opening into the nave with two divisions of the same arcade as in the side galleries. Above this is a large circular window, with sixteen (11) small cusps and a small pierced quatrefoil on either side. These openings now all communicate with the western triforium gallery; and I found it impossible to make out, to my own satisfaction, what the original scheme of the west end could have been. It does not appear clear whether there ever were

any doors hung in the doorways, but I think there never were; and, perhaps, as we are told that the first church built over the body of the saint was of two stages in height, and open at the ends¹ (somewhat like the curious church still remaining at Naranco, near Oviedo), we may be safe in assuming that this western porch was in the same way open to the air. Above it the vault of the nave may have been prolonged between the towers, and under this the circular window would have been seen from the outside as it is still from the inside. Whether there was any direct access to this western porch from the ground may admit of question; but it seems difficult to see how it would have been contrived without blocking up the chapel below the porch, which I have already described (12).

The only remaining work of any importance is the cloister, with its adjacent buildings—the sacristies, chapter-room, library, etc. The present erections show no relics whatever of the work which, as we have seen, the Archbishop Diego Gelmirez undertook in the twelfth century (13). It is uncertain, indeed, whether his constructions were on this side of the church, for there are still remains of walls which seem to be coëval with the church round a courtyard on the north side of the nave. The cloisters now in existence are the work of Fonseca, afterwards Archbishop of Toledo, and were commenced in A.D. 1533. As might be expected by the date, there is very little Gothic character in their design; they have the common late many-ribbed Spanish groining; and if they have ever had traceries in the arches, these are now all destroyed.

The festival of S. James is celebrated with special solemnity whenever it happens to fall upon a Sunday. Then the people, I was told, ascend a staircase behind the altar, pass in front of some of his relics, and descend by another staircase² on the other side. The body of the saint is said to be contained in a stone tomb below the high altar, which lies north and south, with a modern sarcophagus over it, and there is a rather good old statue of him on horseback against the west wall of the south transept.

The ritual arrangements here are the same as they usually are in Spain. The Coro occupies four bays of the nave, and there is a passage railed off between the Reja of the Coro and

¹ *España Sag.* xix.

² This practice illustrates the intention of the singular pilgrimage chapel at the west end of Lapworth church, Warwickshire, which has two newel staircases to its small upper chamber, evidently intended to facilitate the passage of a crowd of people.

that of the Capilla mayor, and there are not many altars now in use, but the number of clergy is very great, and the church is constantly crowded with worshippers.

On a Sunday morning during my stay the Archbishop said Mass, and there was a procession with tapers all round the church. As the slow chant rose from among the dense crowd of worshippers, and the flickering lights of the tapers struck here and there on the walls of the dark old church, one of those pictures was produced which one must, I suppose, go to Spain to see really in perfection. The number of communicants seemed to be extremely small, but the number of those at confession unusually large. The penitents have a way of kneeling with their cloaks held up over them against the confessional, so that their heads are quite concealed. Spanish women are fond of squatting on the floor, fanning themselves, before an altar; but here they often kneel, with their arms stretched out as in wild entreaty, for a long time together, and with rather striking effect. I think I am within bounds in saying that fifty or sixty priests are to be seen in this church at one time, some at the altars, some hearing confessions, and others with a large staff of singing men and boys in the choir.

I have but little more to say about Santiago. The churches seemed everywhere to be modern, and, though some of them are very large, extremely uninteresting (14). The streets are narrow, picturesque, and winding, but with far fewer traces of any antiquity in the houses than might have been expected. The only Gothic domestic building that I saw is the great hospital, close to the cathedral, which has four fine courts, and the principal entrance through a chapel or oratory, with an altar in it. The detail of this work is, however, extremely late and poor; it was founded in A.D. 1504 by Ferdinand and Isabella, Henrique de Egas being the architect.

The interest which, as an architect, one must feel in a building which is—as I have shown the cathedral here to be—a close copy of another church in another country, is very great. And the only regret I feel is that I am unable to give any evidence as to the nationality of the men who wrought the exquisite work in the western porch. My feeling is certainly strong that they must have been Frenchmen, and from the district of Toulouse. This I infer from the execution of their work. Moreover, I do not know where in Spain we are to find the evidence of the existence of a school in which such artists could have been trained, whilst at Toulouse no one can wander through the Museum in

the desecrated convent of the Augustines without recognising the head-quarters of a school of artists from among whom the sculptor of Santiago might well have come thoroughly educated for his great work.

From Galicia I travelled back by the same road along which I had already journeyed as far as Leon; and from thence by Medina del Río Seco—a poor, forlorn, and uninteresting town—to Valladolid. The plain between Leon and Valladolid is most uninteresting; and the whole journey from the coast of Galicia to the last-named city is one of the most wearisome I ever undertook. The occasional beauty of the scenery—and on this road it is oftentimes very beautiful—does not prevent one's feeling rather acutely a diligence journey of sixty-six hours with few and short pauses for meals; and the only solace—if solace it is—one has, is that the *adalantero* or postillion, who has to ride the whole distance, is in infinitely worse case than oneself! Fortunately the least interesting part of the road is now superseded by the opening of the railway from Palencia to Leon (15).

NOTES

(1) Santiago may also be approached from the south, and I was sorry not to take that route either going or coming, in order to visit the cathedrals of Orense and Tuy, and the churches of Pontevedra. Actually, I motored in from Curtis to save some hours of railway travel, and to save some days, went out again in another motor 'bus to la Coruña, finding both drives very beautiful. Besides the ruined churches of SS. Dominic and Francis, much like those at Lugo, Pontevedra possesses in San Lorenzo de Carboira a great Benedictine Abbey, ruined, but apparently still fine, founded in 1171 by Abbot Fernando and built between 1171 and 1192. It has a nave and two aisles, three bays long, a great transept with two small apsidal chapels to the eastward, an apse of five bays, to which corresponds a big ambulatory with trapezoidal quadripartite vault, and three immense chapels, three-quarters of a circle, that open from the three eastern bays of this, the other two bays being plain and being, indeed, the walls of the transept chapels. There are large western and northern portals.

(2) It is pleasant to note that Señor Lampérez y Romea says Street told all Europe about it.

(3) This is a slip; the west portal, *del Obrador*, was built by Novoa; the north, *del Azabachería*, by Ventura Rodríguez.

(4) That is, *Bajo*—S. James Undercroft.

(5) Now, alas, the market, as in most Spanish towns, has removed to a tin structure down below, and is filled up with German "enamelled" iron ware and Austrian stamped cups and plates.

(6) In a manuscript given by French pilgrims to the cathedral

between 1137 and 1143 the sculptures of the south transept portal are described, and some now discoverable there are set down as a part of the north portal—for example, the Expulsion from Paradise. These were removed thence probably at its reconstruction in the eighteenth century, and thrust in wherever a statue had fallen or a relief worn away or a vacant space offered. Apart from this mixture, which has sadly confused the iconography, they are not of a single age or perhaps of a single school. M. Bertaux believes them the output of two generations of cathedral workmen, trained in the school of Toulouse; the earlier portion, on the three storied shafts and in the two tympana, showing shorter figures, coarser faces, and few and straight folds, and later on a more learned and dextrous artist giving to those who were to take a place under the arcades longer proportions, lovelier faces, and draperies finer and more supple. But beyond this clear division into two manners I seem to trace sometimes the breath of another tradition, sometimes the touch of an individual genius. The three marble shafts, carved like ivories and inspired by them, are marked by an eastern influence, however remote. The four statues on the door-jambs are fashioned out of another marble with a rarer grace than the great reliefs to right and left of the whole portal. These four statues perhaps belong with some in the wall above. They represent, on the western door, Moses and S. Andrew, on the eastern a bishop and the Sign of the Lion. The great flanking reliefs (on the west, David playing his viol, the Creation of Eve, and Christ blessing with a book; on the right, the Sacrifice of Isaac, Christ blessing, the Creation of Adam) must have meant, like those on the wall above, something when they were first set up, but never, I fancy, anything symbolic here, for the Spaniards are curiously indifferent to iconography as distinguished from drama. If there is not a story to tell, the meaning matters not at all. Into the east tympanum are packed the Kiss of Judas, Christ before Pilate, the Flagellation, along with the Epiphany and the Angel addressing the three kings asleep. The western is occupied by the Temptation in the Wilderness, with flying angels and doggish, crawling devils, and by a great, strange, seated woman. It is on this last figure that another traveller's handbook hangs the story of an adulterous wife, whom her husband, discovering her, compelled to fondle and kiss the head of her lover day by day while it corrupted in her hands. This eminently Spanish story was made to fit the place, and the figure is really the Sign of the Ram, a companion to the Sign of the Lion, now on the jamb of the door. In the spandrels, four angels are trumpeting to judgment and Abraham gets up out of his tomb (above the central shaft), for he has seen the Day of the Lord. Above, Christ appears as in the Transfiguration with S. James on His right, between two trees (cypresses, the old descriptions say), and the Apostles ranged on either hand. Other such bits as a mermaid with her fish and a centaur with his bow are Romanesque commonplaces from the Rhine to the Adriatic, and from the North Sea to the Bay of Biscay. The testimony of the *Puerta de la Platería* confirms the persistent feeling that the Spaniard rarely invents, and always remakes; on alien materials he sets his own image and super-scription.

(7) This is one of the many variants of the moulding that I have called a scallop, that recurs incessantly in the whole north-west. It may be worth saying here that I could not find a single horse-shoe arch about the building; in the interior, indeed, a good many round arches are stilted and set back deep on the abacus-block, precisely as in the little Romanesque arcade at San Pedro, Zamora, and this looks rather like a horse-shoe arch from below, but from a level is easily distinguished. The horse-shoe arch was used by the Visigoths, it antedates the Moors, and it appears, I am credibly informed, in certain parish churches of one district in Normandy, but it has nothing to do with the origin of the plan of Santiago, and as a matter of observation it does not occur in Santiago.

(8) The whole floor of this little church I found strewn with grass, flowers, and fragrant twigs and herbs.

(9) The figures have been repainted, and the open mouths of the monsters blocked up.

(10) SS. Peter, Paul, James Minor, and John.

(11) There are certainly twenty now. The restoration that the whole church has been through, in particular the Gloria, though not recent, must be later than 1865.

(12) Unfortunately the whole question of date and origin has been revived so lately and so violently that it seems necessary to sum up the arguments for and against a purely Spanish source of inspiration. Aside from its beauty, the Gloria of Compostella, as Señor Lampérez points out, made a whole school, and you can see imitations of it at the cathedral of Orense, San Jeronimo of Compostella, San Martin de Noya, the doors of Carboira, San Julian de Moraine, etc. It is probable, though the dates are not certain, that San Vicente of Avila influenced Santiago. The actual date of commencing the work cannot be fixed, because the Codex Calixtino contradicts itself, gives 1078 as the date, but also says that from the beginning until the death of Alfonso I. of Aragon was fifty-nine years, to that of Henry I. of England sixty-two years, to that of Louis VI. of France sixty-three years. That gives you a chance to fix the date as early as 1073, if you think the Spanish historian less likely to know the year he meant than a bit of foreign history. This all is the less important because the Archæological Congress, at Toulouse, seems to have admitted that S. Sernin was begun in 1080, consecrated in 1096, and finished 1140. That point of precedence is offset, however, by the fact mentioned by the Abbé Bouillet, that the abbey church of Conques, identical in type, was planned and well begun under the Abbot Odolrich, who disappears in 1065. The date, if correct, shifts the direct derivation from Toulouse to Conques, and if, as I believe, the case of Conques has not appeared in English it is worth summing up from the modest essay by Abbé Bouillet. First, the three churches are alike in type. Secondly, the dates make S. Foy de Conques the eldest. In the third place, Conques lay on one of the four great pilgrimage routes from France to Santiago, which joined at Puente la Reina beyond Pamplona. The first went by S. Gilles, Montpelier, Toulouse, and the Port of Aspe; the second from Le Puy by way of Conques and Moissac. The Codex of S. James of Compostella, or *Liber de Miraculis Sancti Jacobi*, an early

twelfth-century guide book, names the relics of S. Faith among those that are to be venerated on the way. In 1034, Roger I. of Tosny, Lord of Castillon, in Normandy, went to help Sancho of Aragon against the Moors, and on the way home took some relics of S. Faith from Conques to Castillon, which he renamed from the abbey and which is now Conches. In effect, Conques was not then neglected and forgotten, but an influence felt far. Fourth and last, the monks of Conques were great builders, not only throughout France, but across the Pyrenees: Sancho Ramirez at the siege of Barbastro vowed to them for a priory the principal mosque of the town, and by the advice of the Bishop of Pamplona kept his vow; he made, and let us hope he kept, a similar pledge when he marched against Zaragoza and Lérida. Between 1100 and 1114, Sancho, Bishop of Erro, gave them the church of Roncesvalles. All this time Santiago was a-building, and the real burden lies on those who should undertake to prove that from Conques, as from Moissac and Toulouse, ideas and labourers did *not* travel along the great pilgrim way. Churchmen knew the road: in the beginning of the twelfth century there was at Compostella a canon named Bernard, who came from Agen and who became Bishop of Salamanca, and finally Archbishop of Santiago, dying in 1152. There was an earlier Bernard, who served on one of Diego Peláez's commissions in 1071; it consisted of one Rotberto and the director of the works, Bernard, afterwards called *Magister Mirabilis*, and even Señor Ferreiro admits that any Bernard is presumably a Frenchman. The case of a French derivation, Señor Lampérez sums up in five propositions: (1) The type is completely Angevine—he is using Angevine for what we call Auvergnat, specifying Le Puy, Clermont-Ferrand, Orcival, Issoire, Toulouse, Conques, etc. (2) No earlier monuments exist to prove that Spain developed such a type. He frankly laughs at the claim that such once were but all are lost except San Bartolomé de Tuy and San Torcuato de Comba, the dates of which are not established. The respectable parallels are the cathedrals of Lugo and Tuy and the nave of S. Vincent of Avila, all posterior. (3) Santiago is, however, earlier than S. Sernin—he does not apparently know the date for Conques—(4) and is the finest example of the series. (5) It shows in some elements a nationalising of the Angevine style produced by direct foreign influences, both Syro-Byzantine and national, *i.e.*, Mahometan. After these there is no more to say. To come to the Gloria: French critics claim Master Matthew as a Frenchman: all the documents cited in confutation can prove only that he was living in Galicia from nobody knows how long before 1161, when he built the Puente Cesuri, and bridge-building in those days was a master's work, well rewarded—sometimes, as at Avignon, by nothing less than canonisation; that he was married and had various sons, one of whom was to succeed him in the work on the basilica; that his post was director and master of all the workmen of the Compostellan school, existing from the end of the eleventh century; that in 1168 Ferdinand gave him a private donation because he held in his charge the direction and the master-ship of the works of the Apostle; that his name appears in documents of 1189-92; that in 1217 he is called Dominus, and in 1342 and

in 1435 the houses he had owned on the Plaza de la Azabacheria were still called Master Matthew's houses. We shall probably never know more. But before Master Matthew there was no such narthex in Spain as already existed in France, at, for instance, S. Benoît-sur-Loire and Vézelay. The former abbey, by a curious coincidence, has a link with Spain by way of Germigny-des-Prés, three miles off, built in 806 by a Spanish bishop on the model of Aix-la-Chapelle. At Vézelay the tympanum of the door of the church proper holds a gigantic Christ in Judgment, showing His wounds, between apostles and evangelists, with a small but still great figure on the central shaft, this time of Christ as Creator and Sustainer of the world—the Magdalen being obviously debarred from her place there, both as penitent and as woman. The style of this work is more like some at the south door of Santiago than like the Gloria. Master Matthew was very individual, as our author has already, on page 207, pointed out, and while the French workmen at Leon give you Spanish types, he does more, he gives you Gallegan. He founded a great school by the strength of his own genius; where one of his immediate disciples carved the archbishop's banqueting hall, you can judge how much of that he was able to communicate. He set on his own work the mark of his own hand, and his workmen were plastic under his touch; but he and they alike, perhaps (the earliest, it may be, or the best of them, at any rate, a great number), had come along the Way of S. James, past S. Gilles and past Moissac or past Conques, and as surely as they all made up a school, which was a new thing, so surely they all came out of schools which were old things, and brought their wallets stuffed, and picked up what they could by the way. Among the parallels that must enforce themselves I noted for my own part these: in general likeness, that the bases of all the great pillars recall those at S. Trophime and S. Gilles, though less eastern than the latter and more individual; that the northern French sense for telling a coherent story, presenting a sculptured scheme of things, is absolutely wanting, and so it is at Vézelay, Conques, Moissac. In particulars: any one who has seen sculptured in the porch at Moissac the punishment of lust and avarice will not forget either the miser's toads or the woman's serpents; here, in the archivolt of the southern doorway, which represents souls rising, and gathered by four angels and four devils and then tormented in Hell, occurs the same figure of Lilith and the Serpent. As this door has been restored by a mealy-mouthed generation, I photographed the group in the original fragment at San Clemente, and the same motive on a capital at Vézelay. On the western side, fronting these doors, only two of the capitals in the Gloria are historied, and one of these shows the slanderer's tongue pulled out with pincers, as again at Vézelay. Certain figures here also, and at the south transept, have the legs crossed like a dancing dervish, as at Moissac and Souillac and Vézelay. Enough examples are these to establish between the south of France and Compostella, in the very moderate words of the Abbé Bouillet, "*un échange d'inspirations artistiques entretenu par le courant des pèlerinages et de la dévotion.*"

(13) The chapel in the palace of the archbishop, which by the kindness of himself and his major-domo I was able to visit, is an old

and curious room, that was once a refectory with a porch of its own. The vault of this porch or ante-chapel rests on a great cylindrical pier, and that on a similar one below. It has a very rich window on the south side, of two orders of rolled and curled leaves; it is two bays wide and one and one-half long, the screen having been removed half a bay to the eastward of its original place. The chapel has five bays in all, of which the western (above the screen) is the widest, and the ribs run from wall to wall, making a wide quadripartite vault. The ribs of the ante-chapel and one bay east are richly moulded with a huge torus overlaid with scallops on each side and a flower in the hollow between, that looks like the arum "lords-and-ladies." The other ribs are of plain mouldings, the keys to the vaults enormous, and at the eastern end, decorated with the sun, the moon, a cock, an angel, etc.; on the west with large hollow flowers. The great interest, however, lies in the corbels, on which the vaulting ribs rest, half-way down the walls; these are scenes of every-day life, but princely state. It is all immensely savorous and alive, and essentially secular; it is like an earlier flowering of the fourteenth-century style, which the Spaniards so greatly affected in the cloisters of Pamplona and Leon, for instance. The subjects are fairly monotonous, but it may be worth while to set them down:

Ante-chapel. The central (western) corbel has a priest blessing the meal, between two servants, one carrying a covered dish, the other a napkin.

North side. Two at table, with dishes, one servant with loaves, and another with a jar.

South side. Lady with two attendants or children, and two servants with dish and bread.

Chapel. Beginning from the west:

North. I. Violin player, harper, piper.

II. Two figures reciting, two more cross-legged, with a sort of viol.

III. Four players on stringed instruments with bows.

IV. A viol played with both hands, a central figure with a quite unknown instrument, and a harper with triangular harp.

V. Young man with book.

South. I. Lady at table washing her hands in a bowl. One servant has a towel and ewer, the other has the twin bowl of the pair of gemellions. Two servants with dishes.

II. Viol player with bow, queen playing a long dulcimer, another figure has lost the arms and instrument.

III. Three angels with scrolls, the inscription incised.

IV. Youth with a book, king and queen at table, holding hands, knight fighting a panther—Query, Favilla and the bear?

V. Angel with scroll.

Adjoining and below this are other ancient apartments, some in use, some choked with débris and earth, that would repay clearing out. Here an ajimez window, there a debased arch, elsewhere a superb chimney, big as a withdrawing-room, tantalise with the assurance of a whole palace that may go back as far as the twelfth century and certainly comes down to the fifteenth, lying half underground and enchanted.

(14) There are, however, two churches of interest not far off, and a few remains in others.

S. Felix has a characteristic Gallegan portal, not wholly ruined by the havoc of all the centuries, and a carved and painted Epiphany of stone, very archaic, in the south aisle. S. Benedict has another such Epiphany, but is in the main eighteenth century, except for a pair of painted pulpits with the four Evangelists on the panel of one and four saints on the other. Half a dozen Italianate paintings on the walls of the sanctuary, which are luminous and tender, make a rich furnishing for the poor little church. The Epiphany stands in the first chapel north, with a Visitation below; in the corresponding chapel south a Pietà is painted around a real cross, and in the altar gradine are framed the three heads from a Deposition, of the school of Greco. At Santa Susanna nothing old was visible from the outside, and the church can be visited only at cattle-market time.

S. Mary Salome has a porch of the fifteenth century and a portal of the twelfth or thirteenth, with Our Lady enthroned, hung up in the centre of the arch, and statues of S. Mary Salome and her son the Apostle to the right and left of the portal proper, which projects slightly from the face of the wall. The ten corbels above are carved with figures in the Burgundian style; the round arch of the door has four orders of which the outermost is carved with a bold billet moulding, and the capitals of the single shaft in each jamb is historiated in the looser sense, carved with figures of men and animals. The interior disappoints less than most churches here.

San Jeronimo shows the Romanesque type of doorway, with saints ranged around on the radius of the archivolt, persisting into the Renaissance. The saints are SS. Stephen, Gregory, Mary Magdalen, Mary Cleophas, and Anna (with the Blessed Virgin and Child Christ), to the left; to the right, SS. Mary Salome, Lucy, Jerome, Lawrence, Augustine. In the jambs stand SS. Francis, James, Peter, Paul, Dominic, and one that I could not make out; in a scalloped tympanum, without lintel, the Madonna crowned between angels. S. Francis, of course, figuring on this belated portal throws up all the incongruity; it was made in the fifteenth or sixteenth century, says Baedeker.

Santo Domingo lies just outside of the Puerta Francigena, five minutes up the hill. It is in the rich, tardy Gallegan style, pointed, but rudely worked, with a nave and aisles of six bays, a deep western gallery, and parallel apses, the central one having a deep bay of sanctuary and a chevet of seven bays. There two pointed tomb recesses are decorated with dog-tooth and leaf mouldings and an arcade runs under the windows, which consist of a circle and two lancets. The capitals look Romanesque, and the western bay of the sanctuary has ribs of a very rich sort with flowers in the moulding. The side apses have five bays to the chevet and plain tomb recesses. The transepts, as high as the crossing, are without projection and the chapels north and south are not quite on the same axis. Later chapels and windows are scattered about—a very magnificent one of the eighteenth century with a barrel-vault and range of deep arcading along each side projects at the south-east.

It is all, like the rest of Compostella, shabby, a world too wide for this shrunk town.

Santa Maria del Sar lies in a swampy meadow, to the south-west, near the river Sar, and the sacristan looked shaken to pieces with agues. It has a fine central apse of seven sides, with four shafts at the angles, and four windows, mostly blocked, with labels over them and a string course between; the southern apse is built up; the northern has one small window and two shafts, and the northern wall is buttressed by great quadrant arches that carry a sort of porch along that side. The north and the west door are both richly moulded with simple elements—rounds, hollows, and billets—and the lintel of the latter rises at the centre to an obtuse angle, as at Conques. I think I have not seen this in other parts of Spain. The great interest of the church and the ground of much learned subtilising, is that the piers of the nave arcade are further apart at the top than at the base. Now, the interior has five bays of barrel-vault in nave and aisles, and the aisles are very high. Therefore, given the soft and swampy nature of the soil and the insufficient resistance which the walls could offer to the thrust of the vaults, there is small wonder that the building spread. To check this seem devised the quadrant arches on the north and the thickened buttresses of the cloister on the south. Only the north walk of this cloister is old, but it has a rich, hot-house beauty, sole in its kind, of slender coupled shafts and capitals spreading wide to a wider abacus, and incredibly decorated round arches coming down into the middle of that. As the work progresses westward it sobers; the first pair of capitals and arches is luxuriant goldsmith's work, of crowded leaves and balls and knops; by the fourth they have come to early Gothic leaves curled into buds or uncurling on long stems, chaste and spare—it seems almost a pity. Here and in the church are fine tombs of dark stone, one with a bishop's effigy, another with a scholar's. This little church, though it has to be reached through a shocking slum between pigs and among children the dirtiest and most impudent in Spain, is as choice as a coffer of Limoges enamel.

(15) The early churches in the Asturias, to which Street refers in Chapter XX., are best reached by train from Leon, and so perhaps best described here. The way thither lies through true Alpine landscape, and the northern coast from la Coruña to Bilbao, though utterly unlike the interior of Spain, is quite as fine and as romantic. The mountains push down to the sea, and the sea runs far up among the mountains, so that from the rocks on the shore on every hand blue heights lift and call, and from the foldings of the hills the line of white flashes on a bar. Oviedo, not twenty miles from the sea, is ringed round about with enchanted mountains. There the traveller should stay long, for what he comes to see covers all the great age of building. Unlike too many famous towns, it affords not only mere historic interest for antiquarians, and mere picturesque aspects for artists, but beauty, real and absolute.

The two oldest churches—very nearly the oldest in Spain—lie beyond and above the town, among green trees in a hollow on the mountain flank. There is a contention that Santa Maria de Naranco is made out of the remains of the royal palace, because in 905

Alfonso the Great left his palace, baths, and the Church of the Archangel to the Cathedral of Oviedo, without mention of S. Mary's, and that it was turned into a church between 905 and 1065. But a document of 858 cites the church, and one of the sixteenth century refers to the church and palace at Naranco. In 1884, the dedication stone was found; it says that "Ramiro and his wife renewed this little house, worn out with age, 9 Kal. Jul. Era DCCCLXXXV"—i.e. July 4, 848. It is a long rectangle of eleven bays, barrel-vaulted on transverse ribs; two bays on each end are separated from the centre by screens deep enough to have two sets of columns and a wall and arch between. The eastern compartment is the sanctuary, beyond which lies a later sacristy quadripartite-vaulted. The western may have been either a choir or a narthex; but the main portal, of later date and pointed style, opens in the middle of the south side with a porch and a double stairway, and had once a duplicate in the wall opposite. Once, also, the walls were a mere open arcade. The vaulted crypt below corresponds in disposition and dimensions; but excavation and conjecture have yielded no convincing explanation of the curiosities of this unaccountable building. The rude columns are made up of four members twisted alternately, and a pattern like a twist of rope borders and divides the trapezoidal capitals, the spandrels of the screens, and the curious stone insertions on which the transverse arches rest and which comes down into the spandrels of the arcaded wall. These have been derived, probably with reason, from bucklers suspended along the wall, but what they look like is a seal hanging from its ribbon. On the capitals, pairs of beasts, in the upper half, are set breast to breast, but *regardant* (in heraldic phrase—looking back at their own tails); and in the lower half smaller beasts look up, turning their backs on each other. The smaller triangular divisions on the narrower faces contain each a man of the most primitive sort. Like the capitals, the ribbon to the seal is always the same; in its four compartments, two men are crowning themselves, above two on horseback raising their right hands. The disk below, various in detail, has always a wide ring of *entrelacs* and then a beast in the centre, sometimes *passant*, sometimes *regardant*, and indescribably Oriental. The ornament is unmistakably related, moreover, to that in the crowns of Guerranzar, and the twist like a slight cord is found again not only on these, but on the capitals and the strange historied bases at San Miguel de Linio. Set by a brook among wide-spreading trees, ten minutes further up the mountain side, this high-shouldered church, once doubtless a Greek cross with the corners filled up, consists at present of a lantern tower and transept, an eastern arm (later and unimportant), and a western member in three compartments and two stories. The entrance, under a west gallery carried on a barrel-vault, is flanked by staircases and chapels in two stages; in the transepts beautiful round-headed ajimez windows are half filled with pierced stone. The buttresses outside are marked with incised grooves like the arcade of Santa Maria; and on the jambs of the door are set slabs, carved in the lowest possible relief with games in the circus, copied from a consular diptych and bordered with the twist. S. Michael was founded in 848, still perfect in 1572; Señor

Lampérez thinks that a part was ruined at an unknown date and rebuilt all wrong; that it had originally three aisles, with a deep narthex and a deep sanctuary taken off the nave so as to leave only two bays between. S. Cristina of Lena lies much nearer to Leon, high up above a railway cutting to the south of Pola de Lena, and I looked up and saw it half an hour after passing the station, without warning from Baedeker. To miss it was the more vexatious because it seems in nearly perfect condition; the detail of screens, capitals, and disks is like that of Santa Maria; the plan is a rectangle with four square compartments projecting on the axes; thus it has two curious flanking chapels, a high presbytery and raised choir beyond, and, to boot, a western choir or narthex and tribune. It has an iconostasis like San Miguel de Escalada, with pierced stonework in the tympanum above, and an inscription about one Abbot Flainus, perhaps Flagino, heard of at Oviedo in the tenth century. The cancelli, of carving that looks Byzantine, M. Enlart pronounces pure Carolingian work. He thinks that Santa Maria and Santa Cristina are both of the eleventh or twelfth century, incorporating scraps of older work.

Oviedo owes its foundation as capital and metropolitan see to Alfonso the Chaste, 781. An architect named Tioda raised twelve altars to the twelve apostles and one in the midst to the Saviour, in a church which probably filled the space from the *Camara Santa* to the Pantheon of the Asturian kings, now the chapel of the *Rey Casto*. Bishop Pelayo repaired and enlarged it in the twelfth century, but the present cathedral belonged to the second half of the thirteenth. From the south transept a wide flight of stairs goes up to the fourteenth-century vestibule of the *Camara Santa*, and the clergy are marvellously kind both in exhibiting the treasures and in leaving one alone. This ancient chapel, now a treasure-house, lies in about the same region of the block of building as the fine old contemporary tower, and had once narthex, ante-chapel, and shrine; the first is gone, only the three heads built into the wall above the door survive, probably from a Pietà; the last is low, one-windowed, rude with age. In the larger chamber the transverse arches of a round barrel-vault are sustained by statues of the twelve apostles grouped in three pairs on each side upon elaborate storied bases. Tall, slim as those of Chartres, they are very beautiful, but not, I fancy, so old, and they have a look of the south of France. Yet they fit into the pillars of which they are a part, their feet turn down and cling like monkeys' paws. The sculptor, whatever he was, loved drapery for its own sake, often gathering up the mantle to let a piece fall over the arm in close fine folds. Among them is a great difference: only one has the legs crossed like a dancing dervish; S. Peter might be a Chinese sage. One capital presents scenes of the Resurrection—the appearance to Mary, harrowing of hell, etc., but only three in all are storied and one abacus; the rest have *entrelacs* and leafage, and a beautiful thick garland of leafage stretches all around at the spring of the arches. All this may well go back to the twelfth century, what is more important is that nowhere in Spain lies more beauty within four walls. Of a twelfth-century cloister survive only great reliefs of SS. Peter and Paul at the side portal, which M. Bertaux calls direct imitations of those at Moissac.

I am not so sure of the directness. The present cloister was begun by Bishop Alvarez (1302-21), and finished after 1345. It looks like the same master who worked at Leon, and, here as there, with French are mingled Spanish motives: the lay of Aristotle, and Froila's conflict with the bear. The magi have camels and negro servants; a woman enticing lions, on a corbel, offers an acrid criticism of life, and the head of a priest, on the next, is an ironic portrait. The cathedral of S. Saviour, begun before 1349 and finished in 1408, has six bays, transepts, and apsidal choir with the chapter sitting around the inside of it looking unsheltered and forlorn; and ambulatory, rather splendid and baroque, with five altars and eight saints in great gilt niches. The tracery in the triforium is flamboyant and bad; that of the clerestory, with half the number of bays, not much better, but the centre is filled with fifteenth-century glass, very brilliant and delightful—scarlet, yellow, and a purplish-blue. The vault is sexpartite in the nave, quadripartite in the aisles; the transept of two bays, with a triforium entirely around. The mouldings interpenetrate with a kind of stupid ingenuity and leaves place for only a few capitals, shallow and insignificant. The Retablo Mayor is hard to make out under the bright paint, but seems in all its twenty-three scenes and thirty-five saints or more to have the same qualities of sincerity and of locality as that in the chapel of the Chaste King. The portal into this last is a trifle Burgundian; M. Bertaux would identify the artist with that of the tomb of Ordoño II. at Leon. Here a risen Christ stands in the pierced tympanum, between adoring angels, SS. James and Peter, SS. Paul and Andrew on the jambs; and on the mid-post a buxom *Madonna lallante*. The west porch has more beauty than the date prepares one for, and that chiefly of proportion and grace, for the niches are empty and the tympanum of the doors glazed, with room for statues in the gables above, as at Rheims. The side arches, though stupidly set askew, are filled with fine old iron gates, and the tower sails among the clouds. Of the other ancient churches founded by Alfonso I., I was sorry not to see that of Santullano, S. Julian-in-the-Fields, beyond the town. The plan is of the Latin basilical type, with nave and aisles of six bays, transepts, and three parallel apses, an ajimez window in the central one. S. Tirso, close to the cathedral, has a shapeless old tower, and around the corner an ajimez window of three arches under a square label; the capitals carved with a sort of alder leaf that one learns to know very well in early Asturian work.

Of Gijon I managed to see nothing except at a distance the outside of the late Gothic church of San Pedro overlooking the sea. The front is masked by a wide porch arched for every one of the seven aisles. Thence I took the early diligence to Villaviciosa, crossing a series of rocky spines and skirting the deep valleys that run up between them with estuaries from the sea. The horses were wretched and the driver was brutal, my companion, a cultivated man and I believe a professor thereabouts, remarked as we passed the bull-ring that that (*i.e.* bull-fighting) accounted for these (*i.e.* Spanish cruelties). His opinions on the inferior clergy, exchanged with the driver, were Chaucerian. The inn at Villaviciosa, while very Spanish,

has two good bedrooms that open not on a corridor, but on the street, not so far above it but that from mine I overlooked and overheard all the vivid life of the little town. The carriage ordered to continue to Val-de-Dios proved a basket phaeton, drawn by three fat little dappled horses that devoured the miles. One could stay contentedly for a month at least at Villaviciosa, despite its unlikely name; a daily diligence runs to Colunga, connecting there with the railway to Rivadisella and along the north coast to famous lonely places.

A vivid and fantastic little church is Santa Maria, the work, I suppose, of some man greatly endowed with imagination and energy, who by the wantonness of fortune was born and died a provincial. If he had only been in the way of it, he had life enough within him to have been a Master Matthew. The church is contemporary with the franchise of the town, dated October 17, 1270. The doorway, with five carved orders, is pointed and cusped, and in the peak such a seated statue as cuts across the archivolt at Santiago of Betanzos or Santa Maria Salome of Compostella here dangles into vacancy, attached only by head and shoulders. The four shafts in the jamb are covered with lovely diaper patterns, not so deeply undercut as those at Chartres, but with simpler grace not unworthy of comparison. Against these the four statues have been clapped, stuck there, their bases jutting out without so much as a corbel to relate them to the shafts. These are, on the north, a king, bishop (in forked mitre), angel, and hermit; on the south, king, queen, count, and monk; patrons and benefactors, it seems likely. The powerful capitals show, among other scenes, two doves eating snakes, a man riding to a castle, a juggler beating a gong. Those of the south door have two grotesques and two hunting scenes—a hawk pouncing on a creature with two dogs and the huntsman by, a dog pulling down a boar, the huntsman crying him on. In the south wall, the four windows, small and very high, are curiously made, with a crude pattern incised on the upper lintel stone and that cut out to make two arches; the opening within each of these is not a horse-shoe, but an almost complete circle. The fine east window in the apse has an archivolt of zig-zags, tightened up almost into stars, and a label carved in four-petalled flowers; the western rose is set deep and cusped, with eight cusped quatrefoils ranged around under a round arch. The interior, though modernised, still shows the unusually long nave and the deep presbytery with barrel, the square sanctuary with quadripartite, vaulting. The capitals are grotesque and crude.

San Juan de Amandi, just across the river, is the model of a country church, seated well up a hilly road, a wide curved porch running around three sides and commanding enchanting views. An inscription on the façade gives the date 1134 for building, for repairing, 1755; another on the characteristic apse says that was rebuilt in 1780. Neither of them can be trusted. In 1281 Alfonso IX. gave it to the Abbot of Val-de-Dios. The doorway is pointed, with zig-zag and flower patterns, and among them a fair sample of the beak moulding found sometimes on the Norman work in England. The Normans harried all this coast—did they bring it? The three

shafts in the jambs are spindle-shaped and probably, like the porch, of the eighteenth century. The long nave of four bays is covered by shallow quadripartite vaulting, the sanctuary by one bay of this, with a round arch at the west and a semi-dome at the east. Across the apse runs a magnificent double arcade, the upper range of niches arched, the lower crowned by a simple cornice of very fine leaf-pattern scroll-work. Many capitals are storied: S. Stephen covered with stones, Christ in a mandorla with the tetramorph and heads of the Blessed, Adam toiling, the hunting of the wild boar, two lions eating Daniel, three musicians with instruments. etc. On the outside of the apse I found a good many masons' marks, not different from others in Spain. All the figure sculpture is incredibly crude—in the Presentation on the portal the Blessed Virgin looks like the Wife of Bath.

Lying beautifully in a folding of the hills, the great mass of buildings at Val-de-Dios is visible for many miles, but only the church goes back to the first Cistercians, who received their deed November 27, 1200, and for whom Master Galtiero began the church May 18, 1218. It is traditional in type, modest in class, like Rueda, of five bays with three aisles, three apses, and three portals, the transepts very slightly marked, with a scrap of barrel-vaulting at the end. Round arches in the nave arcade and round windows in the clerestory and aisles, but pointed arches across the nave and opening into the chapels, fix the point of development very precisely. Unrestored, it keeps baroque altars against every pier of the nave and four horsemen high up on the crossing. A west gallery of two bays is continued for another along the south aisle to hold the organ, and below this a modern grille cuts off the community from any villager who might stray in. The present cloister, on the south side, was built in 1777; it replaces an earlier one, into which opened a door that still remains, though blocked up—of two orders and a dog-tooth label, two shafts standing in the jambs. The north transept portal and window are perfect, and the tympanum is dated ERA MCCLVI.—i.e. 1218. The west porch of three bays, one of which is taken into the entrance to the monastery, screens a rather plain great door, with a bare tympanum and no lintel, three shafts in the jambs and the sculptures of *entrelacs* and grotesques. Shabby and rather sordid (it is a seminary now), the church helped to reconcile one to the swept and garnished loneliness of National Monuments like Fossanuova. Yet the kindness of the hosts has more worth than any government's hospitality. To see Santa Maria I had been forced to rouse from his nap on a summer afternoon an ecclesiastic just not young enough to relish the interruption, but his patience equalled his courtesy as he took me over to San Salvador in the convent cabbage-bed, and let me scribble and photograph without a yawn or a gesture. This tiny ancient basilica of the Latin type, that may be of 893, has three aisles, a narthex with a tribune above it, four bays and three apses, square and two-storied, completely cut off except in the middle below. It has square piers, round arches, barrel-vaults, windows from the narthex into the nave, but none to the upper chapels eastward; an ajimez window in the west front, another of three lights

in the central apse, and tiny ajimez clerestory away up. The aisle roofs themselves are enormously higher than the nave arcade. A cloister of five bays down the south side is reached, without and within, by side portals; its barrel-vault rests on a lovely arcade down the two sides, and its windows are filled with pierced stone. In almost perfect condition, San Salvador helps to explain San Juan de Baños, and in parts, perhaps, San Miguel de Linio, and is fairly archetypal. The shafts at the west door show an early form of the alder leaf capital, that begins with a mere mid-rib and parallel veins incised on the chamfered edge of a block capital, that develops by adding a jagged bounding line and increasing the number of leaves upon the field, and finally disengages the tips of oval leaves, close-laid, perfectly formed, but always a little thick and unpleasant, like the leaf of the scrubby alders along stagnant waterways.

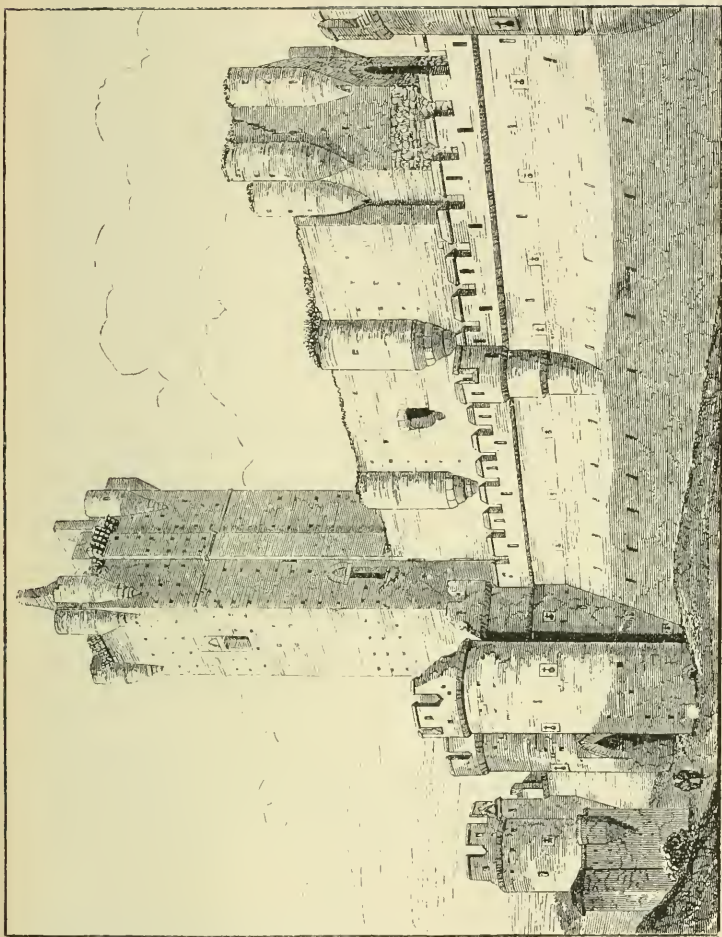
CHAPTER VII.

MEDINA DEL CAMPO—AVILA

IN going by the railroad from Valladolid to Madrid the decayed old town of Medina del Campo is passed, and few travellers can have failed to be struck by the size and magnificence of the great castle, under whose walls they are hurried along—the Castle “de la Mota,” founded in 1440, and built under the direction of Fernando de Carreño, as master of the works.¹

The castle founded at this time evidently took the place of one of much earlier date; for at some distance from its walls there still remain great fragments of old concrete walls lying about, mis-shapen, decayed, and unintelligible; whilst the greater part of the existing castle is a uniform and simple work entirely executed in brick, incorporating and retaining, however, in one or two parts, portions of the walls of the earlier building. The outline is a very irregular square, with round towers at all its angles rising out of the sloping base of the walls, and overlooking the moat which surrounds the whole. Within these outer walls rise the lofty walls of the castle, flanked by occasional square towers, and with an unusually lofty keep at one angle. The entrance is protected with much care, the gateways always opening at right angles to each other, so as to give the best possible chance of easy defence. Entering by the gateway in the centre of the principal front, across the now destroyed bridge, the path turned round the walls of the keep, and then through a small gate by its side into the great inner courtyard, the shape of which is very irregular, and the buildings opening into which are almost all destroyed. There seems to be no direct mode of getting into the keep save by climbing up the face of the wall some twenty feet from the ground; and to this I was unequal, though it was evident, from the well-worn holes in the brick-work, that some of the natives are not so. Possibly there may have been an entrance from below, for the whole of the walls surrounding the castle, and looking out upon the moat, are honeycombed with long vaulted galleries at various levels,

¹ Cean Bermudez, *Arg. de España*, i. 105.

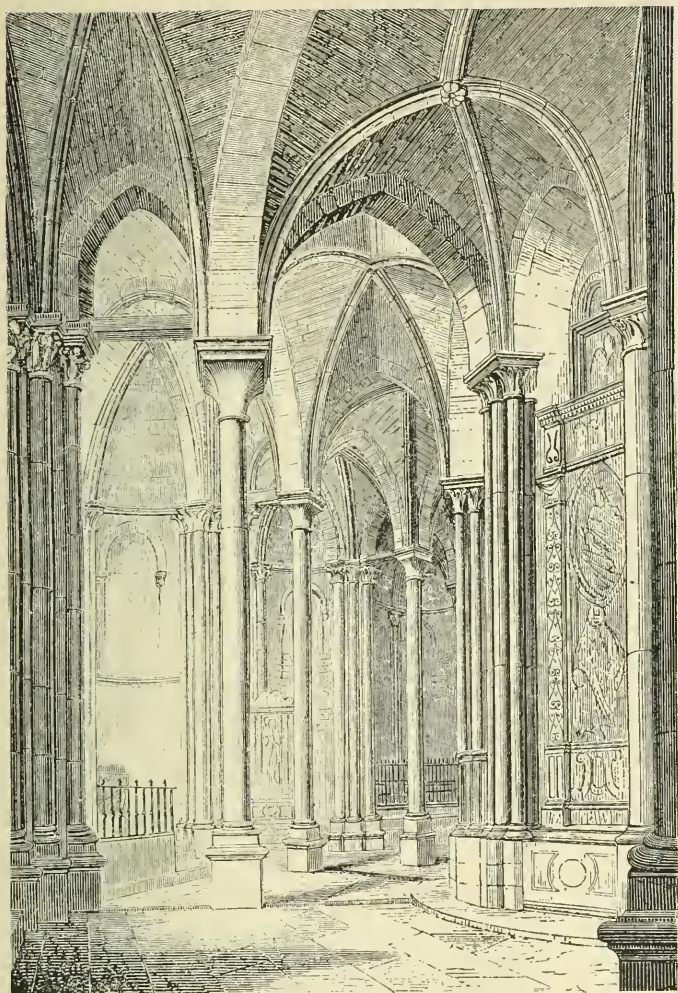


MEDINA DEL CAMPO
THE CASTLE

along which I tramped for a long time, looking in vain for an outlet towards the keep. The architectural detail here is all of the simplest possible kind; the arches are pointed, but square in section, and only remarkable for the great depth of their archivolts, which gives them an air of strength very fitting to such a building. The bricks are generally a foot long, eight inches wide, and an inch and three-eighths thick, and the mortar-joints are generally an inch and three-quarters wide. Little as such a work affords for mere technical description, I have seldom seen one of its kind altogether more magnificent. The great height of the walls, the simplicity of the whole detail, and the bold vigour of the outline sufficiently account for this.

Medina del Campo is the dullest and saddest of towns now, though three hundred years ago it seems to have been one of the most important places in the district. Nor is there much to detain the ecclesiologist or architect. The principal church—S. Antholin—seems to have been founded in the sixteenth century. An inscription round the chancel gives the date of its erection as A.D. 1503,¹ and the church was probably built at the same time. The plan consists of nave and aisles of three bays in length, and a chancel of one bay. The nave and aisles cover an area of about ninety feet each way, the dimensions being, as they usually are here, very considerable. The columns are really clusters of groining-ribs banded together with a very small cap at the springing, and then branching out into complicated vaulting-bays, most of which are varied in pattern. The Coro is near the west end of the nave, and about equal in length to one of its bays, nearly two bays between its Reja and the Capilla mayor being left for the people; its fittings are all of Renaissance character, and there is a very picturesque organ above it, on the south, bristling with projecting trumpet-pipes, and altogether very well designed. The columns are lofty, and the church is lighted by small round-headed windows of one or two lights placed as high as possible from the floor; there is one light in each southern bay, and two in each on the north side; evidently therefore the whole work is carefully devised for a hot country; and it is an undoubted success in spite of the extremely late character of all its detail. Twenty years only after the foundation of the chancel, and just about the time that Segovia Cathedral was being commenced, a chapel was added

¹ "Don Juan of Medina, Bishop of Segovia, Abbat of Medina, President of the Cortes, Chancellor of Valladolid, ordered this chapel to be made in the year 1503. *Laus Deo.*"



AVILA CATHEDRAL
INTERIOR OF AISLE ROUND THE APSE

on the north side of the altar, covered with a dome, and thoroughly Pagan in almost all its details.

There are three (1) pulpits in this church—one on each side of the chancel, and one in the nave; and low rails keep the passage-way from the Coro to the Capilla mayor.

There is a good painting of the Deposition in the sacristy of S. Antholin; and a still more interesting work is the Retablo of a small altar against the eastern column of the nave. This has the Mass of S. Gregory carved and painted, with other paintings of much merit. That of the Pietà recalls Francia, and the figure of the Blessed Virgin in an Annunciation is full of tender grace and sweetness. It is strange how completely the Inquisition altered the whole character of Spanish art, and deprived it at once and for ever apparently of all power of regarding religion from its bright and tender side! (2)

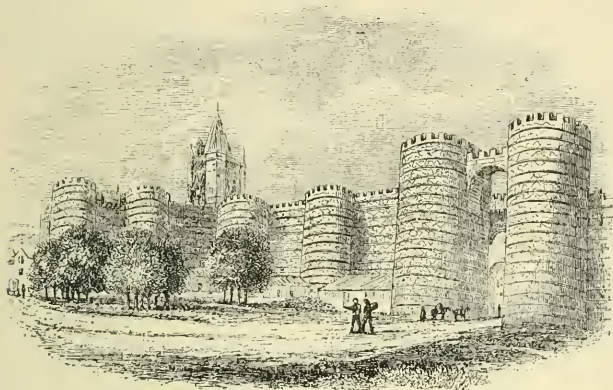
An uninteresting country is passed between Medina and Avila. This old city is indeed very finely situated; and if it be approached from Madrid, seems to be a real capital of the mountains, with ranges of hills on all sides. It lies, in fact, on the northern side of the Sierra, and just at the margin of the great corn-growing plains which extend thence without interruption to Leon and Palencia. Of the many fortified towns I have seen in Spain it is, I think, the most complete. The walls are still almost perfect all round the city; they are perfectly plain, but of great height, and are garnished with bold circular towers not far apart; and for the gateways two of these towers are placed near together, carried up higher than the rest, and connected by a bold arch thrown from one to the other. There are in all no less than eighty-six towers in the circuit of the walls, and ten gateways; and so great is their height¹ that nothing whatever is seen of the town behind them, and they follow all the undulations of the hill on which they stand with a stern, repulsive, savage look which seems almost to belong to a city of the dead rather than to a fairly lively little city of the present day.

The space within the walls was very confined, and no doubt it was found impossible for any new religious foundations to be established within their boundaries. Several of the great churches, and among these some of the most important—as San Vicente, San Pedro, and Santo Tomás—were therefore built outside the walls; and the Cathedral itself, cramped by its close

¹ The walls near San Vicente are 42 feet high by 14 feet thick, and the towers of the gateway upwards of 60 feet in height.

neighbourhood to them, was built out boldly with its apse projecting beyond the face of the walls, and making an additional circular tower larger and bolder than any of the others.

The walls of Avila were commenced in A.D. 1090, eight hundred men having been employed on them daily in that year;¹ among them were many directors who came from Leon and Biscay, and all of them wrought under Casandro, a master of geometry and a Roman, and Florin de Pituenga, a French master; so at least we learn from the contemporary history



PUERTA DE SAN VICENTE

attributed to D. Pelayo, Bishop of Oviedo. The walls were finished in 1099.

In 1091 the Cathedral of San Salvador was commenced by an architect named Alvar Garcia, a native of Estella, in Navarre;² the work was completed in sixteen years, as many as nineteen hundred men, according to the authority already quoted, having been employed on the works. D. P. Risco³ throws considerable doubt on the veracity of D. Pelayo; and his figures certainly seem to be on too grand a scale to be at all probable.

I doubt very much whether any part of the existing Cathedral is of the age of the church whose erection is recorded by Don Pelayo, except perhaps the external walls of the apse. Its

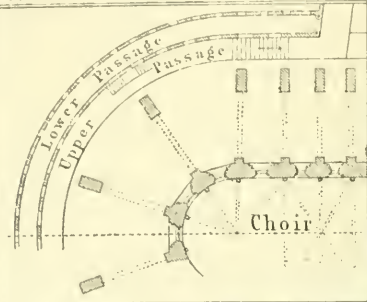
¹ Ariz, *Historia de Avila*, part ii. p. 13. Ponz, *Viage de España*, xii. 308-309.

² Cean Bermudez, *Arq. de España*, i. 18.

³ *España Sagrada*, xxxviii. 134.

CATHEDRAL OF SAN SALVADOR AVILA: - Ground-

PLAN OF CLERESTORY OF CHOIR:



Tower in City Wall

Various Rooms for Priests &c

Courtyard

Capella del Cardinal

Sacristy

Transept

Coro

Transept

P

Before 1200.

13th Century.

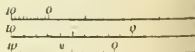
14th Century

15th & 16th Cent.

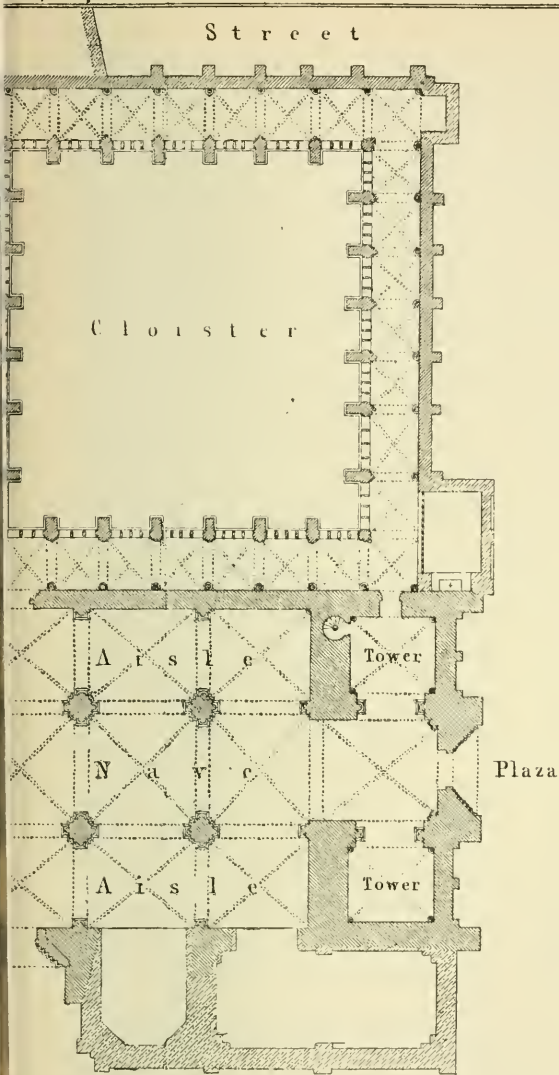
Modern

Tower in City Wall

City Wall



Church and Cloister &c.



a z a

100 150 Feet
20 40 Metres
30 40 Metres
of Wall &c.

general character is thoroughly that of the end of the twelfth or early part of the thirteenth century, with considerable alterations and additions at later periods; and we may safely assume that the chevet, commenced in A.D. 1091, was continued westward very slowly and gradually during the following hundred years or more (3). The ground-plan will show the very singular disposition of the plan; in which the chevet, with its double aisle and semi-circular chapels in the thickness of the walls, is, I think, among the most striking works of the kind in Spain.¹ The external wall of the apse is a semi-circle divided into bays by buttresses of slight projection alternating with engaged shafts. The chapels do not therefore show at all in the external view; and indeed all that does appear here is a projecting tower of vast size pierced with a few very small windows—mere slits in the wall—and flanked on either side by the wall and towers of the town. It is finished at the top by a corbel-table and lofty battlemented parapet; and behind this again, leaving a passage five feet and a half in width, is a second and higher battlemented wall, from within which one looks down upon the aisle-roof of the chevet, and into the triforium and clerestory windows of the central apse. From below very little of the apse and flying buttresses which support it are seen; and one is more struck perhaps by the strange unlikeness to any other east-end one has ever seen, than by any real beauty in the work itself; though at the same time it is pleasant to see that not even so difficult a problem as that of a windowless fortified chevet presented any serious difficulty to these old architects.

Assuming as I do that the external wall of the apse is as old as the end of the eleventh century, I think it nevertheless quite impossible that the chapels within it, in their present state, should be of the same early date. In general plan it is true that they are similar to those round the chevet of the abbey at Veruela,² the eastern chapels in the transepts being apsidal in both cases, and similarly planned in connection with those of the apse. The church of Veruela was completed by about the middle of the twelfth century, and is beyond all question earlier in style than the interior of Avila. The great beauty of the latter arises from the narrow, recessed aisle round the apse, the groining of which is carried on lofty and slender shafts, whilst the columns round the apse itself consist of a bold single column with three detached shafts on the side next the aisle. The groining throughout is extremely good, and, in the chapels, is

¹ See Plate X., p. 232.

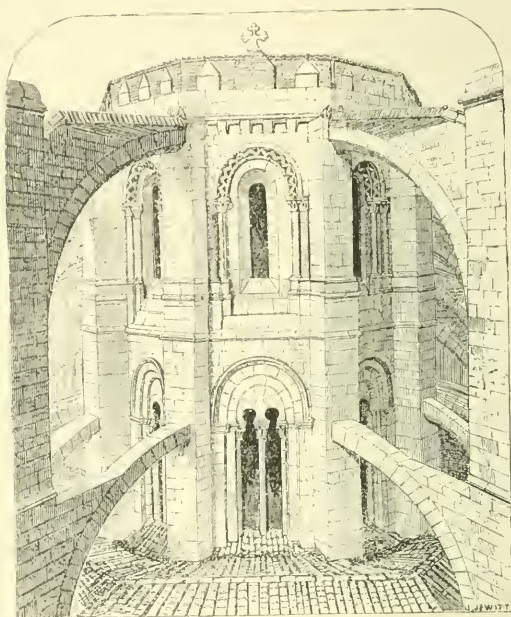
² See Plate XXIII., Vol. II., p. 195.

carried on clustered shafts. A careful examination of the groining of the choir shows clearly how much the design of the church was altered during its progress, though it is certainly not an illustration of the advantage of such a course. The lines of the groining on the plan explain that it is planned with hardly any reference to the structure below: some of the groining shafts not being over the piers, and everything having been sacrificed by the architect of the triforium and clerestory in order to make all their bays equal in width both in the apse and in the side walls. East of the Crossing there is a narrow quadripartite bay of vaulting, then a sexpartite bay, and then those of the apse, and each of the three bays of the choir is thus made about equal to those of the apse, though the arches below are quite unequal. Externally all of them are supported by regularly arranged flying-buttresses, some of which must, I think, be supported on the cross-arches of the aisle in front of the chapels. The triforium is round-arched, of two horseshoe-headed lights divided by a shafted monial; and the clerestory is of round-headed broadish windows, with jamb-shafts and richly-chevroned arches. The flying-buttresses are all double, the lower arch abutting against the triforium, and the upper against the wall above the clerestory windows; and all appear to me to have been added after the original erection of the clerestory. The parapet here, as well as in the aisles, is battlemented, the battlements being finished with pyramidal copings of the common Moorish type. I should have observed that the passage round the town walls is connected with that round the aisle walls, and that the two levels of battlements in the latter are connected by occasional flights of stone steps.

The transepts have the same triforium in their eastern walls as the choir; and here, too, the same kind of construction was ventured on, the groining shafts not being over the clustered column which divides the arches of the aisles round the chevet. When this was done the intention was evidently to erect one bay of sexpartite vaulting next the Crossing, and then a quadripartite bay beyond it. At present both bays are similar—quadripartite—and the clerestory is filled with large traceried windows.

The remainder of the church was so much altered in the fourteenth century, that its whole character is now of that period. The north transept façade has in its lower stage two windows of two lights, the traceries of which are precisely similar to those of our own early geometrical style, and there is a very fine rose

window above them. This rose is of sixteen divisions, each containing two plain pierced circular openings, but the dividing lines between them being marked, give the whole tracery that effect of radiation from the centre which is so important a feature in the designs of many wheel-windows. All the windows in this façade are richly moulded, and there are well-



EAST END, AVILA CATHEDRAL

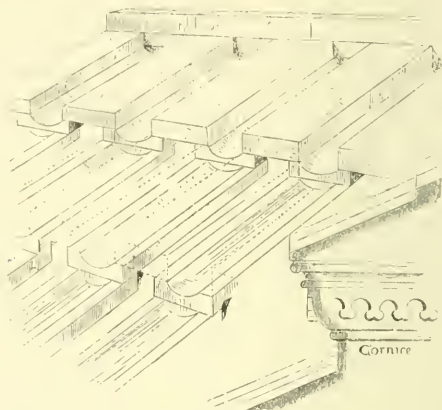
developed buttresses at its angles, but, unhappily, the gable has been entirely destroyed, and the present termination of the wall is a straight line of brickwork below the eaves of the hipped roof. The question of the original pitch of the roof—always so interesting—is therefore left uncertain and undecided. The clerestory throughout is filled with enormous six-light traceried windows, with transoms, and the double flying buttresses between them are very large, and are finished at the top with a line of traceries below their copings, and with crocketed pinnacles in front. There are two towers at the ends of the aisles,

which do not open into them, but only into the nave. The south-west tower has never been completed, but the north-west steeple is a very fine work of the same age as the clerestory of the nave. It has bold buttresses, and a belfry stage lighted by two windows on each side, with tall crocketed pediments above them, and below the battlemented parapet a line of rich sunk tracery. The angles—internal as well as external—are carved with a ball enrichment, which at a distance produces the same effect as our English ball-flower ornament; and, like it, gives an air of richness to the whole work. The buttresses finish above the parapet with crocketed pinnacles, and the parapet with a pointed coping, which somewhat recalls the outline of the Moorish battlement. The whole effect of the steeple, transept, and nave is certainly very noble, and they are marked by an entire absence of any of those foreign peculiarities which usually strike an English eye. The whole might, in fact, be English work of the fourteenth century. The north door of the nave is of grand dimensions, having six statues in niches in each jamb, and others against the buttresses on either side. The tympanum is sculptured with our Lord in an aureole in the centre, the Betrayal and the Last Supper below, angels censuring on either side, and the Coronation of the Blessed Virgin above. The orders of the archivolt are filled with figures, some representing the resurrection of the dead, and others figures of kings and saints worshipping the central figure of our Lord. The door-opening has the peculiarity of having an elliptical or three-centred arch. This feature I noticed also in doors evidently of about the same age at Burgos and at Leon, and it is just one of those evidences which go surely to prove that the several works are all designed by the same architect. The resemblance of the mouldings in the jamb of this doorway to those in the western end of Leon Cathedral is very close, and all these doors have an order of very similar foliage between the several sculptured or storied orders of the archivolt. I do not think the work here is quite as good as that at Leon, though the filling in of the tympanum with a well-marked vesica in the centre, and four rows of subjects divided by well-defined horizontal lines, is uncommonly good. A sort of shallow porch has been formed by some later groining, which occupies the space between the buttresses on either side of the doorway, and this is finished in front with a rich open traceried parapet and pinnacles.

It was during the prelacy of Don Sancho III., Bishop of

Avila from A.D. 1292 to 1353, that most of the later works of the cathedral were executed, and his arms are sculptured upon the vault of the Crossing. The character of all the work would agree perfectly with this date, which is given by Gil Gonzalez Dávila¹ in his account of the church.

A staircase in the south-west tower leads up into the roof of the aisles, which now partly blocks up the too large clerestory; and passing through this, and then over the roofs of the sacristies, we reach the exterior of the chevet and the fortified eastern wall. Over the sacristies is some original stone roofing, of an



ROOFING, AVILA

extremely good, and, so far as I know, almost unique kind, with which it seems very probable that the whole of the roofs were originally covered. But it is now, as well as all the others, protected by an additional timber roof covered with tiles, and is not visible from the exterior. This roofing is all laid to a very flat pitch with stones, which are alternately hollowed on the surface for gutters, and placed about eight and a half inches apart, and other square stones, which rest on the edges of the first, so as to cover their joints. The stones are of course all of the same length—two feet seven inches—and set over each other so as to

¹ *Teatro Eccl.* ii. 258. Dávila, among the celebrities of Avila, includes himself, "the least of all, Pulvis et umbra." One is surprised to find in his account of his own town so little really original matter as to the history or the date of its buildings.

form a drip. The cornice at the eaves of this roof is very well managed, and looks as if it were of the thirteenth century. Its construction reminded me much of the stone guttering so frequently seen in the early Irish buildings, and which, being so much less perishable than lead, has often preserved them, where the common English construction would long ere this have involved the whole building in ruin.

The cloister on the south side of the nave is much decayed and mutilated. It was built probably in the early part of the fourteenth century, and has good traceried windows, generally of four lights, but blocked up, and with all their cusping destroyed. On its east side is a fine fifteenth-century chapel, with an altar at the south end, and a passage through its other end, screened off by an iron Reja, leading to the priests' rooms, and so round to the sacristies. The windows of this chapel are covered with a rude ball ornament, constantly seen in works of the fifteenth century.

I must not forget to notice the furniture of the interior of the cathedral, some of which is very fine. The Retablo of the high altar is very grand, having five sides, which follow the outline of the apse, and it is of three stages in height. The lowest stage has the four evangelists and the four doctors painted on its side panels, and SS. Peter and Paul in the centre; the next has the Transfiguration in the centre, and the Annunciation, the Nativity, the Adoration of the Magi, and the Presentation in the Temple at the sides; and the upper stage the Crucifixion in the centre, and the Agony, the Scourging, the Resurrection, and the Descent into Hell at the sides. These paintings were executed in A.D. 1508 by Santos Cruz, Pedro Berruguete, and Juan de Borgoña; and some of them are not only valuable in the history of art, but of great merit. The S. Matthew attended by an angel, who holds his ink for him, is designed with great grace; and the Adoration of the Magi, and some of the other subjects, are admirably designed and painted. The drawing is rather sharp and angular, and has more the character of German than of Italian art. The woodwork in which the paintings are framed is richly carved and gilt, but in a jumble of styles; the canopies over the pictures being Gothic, and the columns which support them thoroughly Renaissance in style.¹

The fittings of the Coro are all Renaissance, and there is a

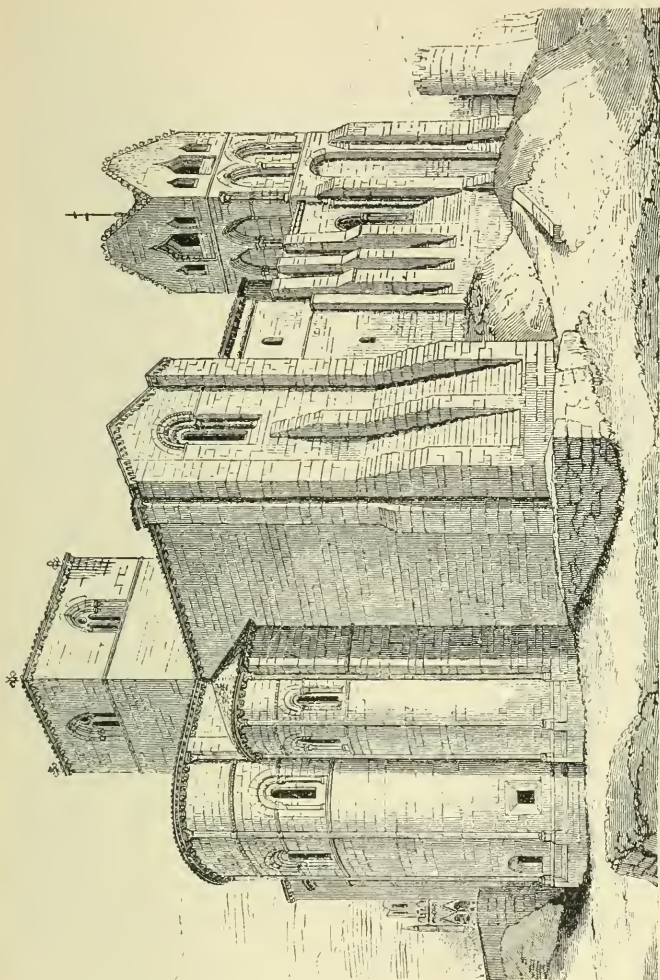
¹ Juan de Borgoña contracted on March 23, 1508, to paint five pictures which were lacking in this Retablo, receiving 15,000 maravedis for each, and binding himself to finish them by All Saints' Day of the same year.

screen of the same age across the nave on its western side. To the east is the usual metal Reja, and low rails enclosing the passage from the Coro to the Capilla mayor. A flight of seven steps in front of the altar, the magnificent colour of its Retablo, and the contrast of the extremely light choir and the almost windowless aisles and chapels round it, make the pictorial effects here extremely fine; and they are heightened by a good deal of stained glass, which, though of late date, has some fine rich colour. It was executed at the end of the fifteenth century.

Fine as this cathedral is, I think, on the whole, I derived almost as much pleasure from the church of San Vicente, built just outside the walls, a little to the north of the cathedral. This is a very remarkable work in many respects.

The church (4)—dedicated to the three martyrs, Vicente, Sabina, and Cristeta, who are said to have suffered on the rock still visible in the crypt below the eastern apse—is cruciform in plan,¹ with three eastern apses, a central lantern, a nave and aisles of six bays in length, two western steeples with a lofty porch between them, and a great open cloister along the whole south side of the nave. The south door is in the bay next but one to the transept, and there are staircase turrets in the angles between the aisles and the transepts. The design and detail of the eastern apses recall to mind the Segovian type of apse. Their detail as well as their general design are, in fact, as nearly as possible identical, and no doubt they are the work of the same school of late Romanesque architects. They are very lofty, the ground being so much below the floor of the church that the windows of a crypt under the choir are pierced in the wall above the plinth. They have, too, the usual engaged shafts between the windows, dividing each apse into three vertical compartments, each pierced with a round-headed window. These shafts are finished with finely-carved capitals under the eaves' corbel-tables; and the string-courses which occur below the windows, on a level with their capitals, and again just over their arches, are generally delicately carved, but sometimes moulded. The central apse is higher than those on either side, and consequently none of the horizontal lines are continuous round the three apses; and as the eastern walls of the transepts have no openings, and no string-courses or enrichments of any kind between the ground and the eaves, there is a certain air of disjointedness in the whole design which is not pleasing. The

¹ Plate XI., p. 248.

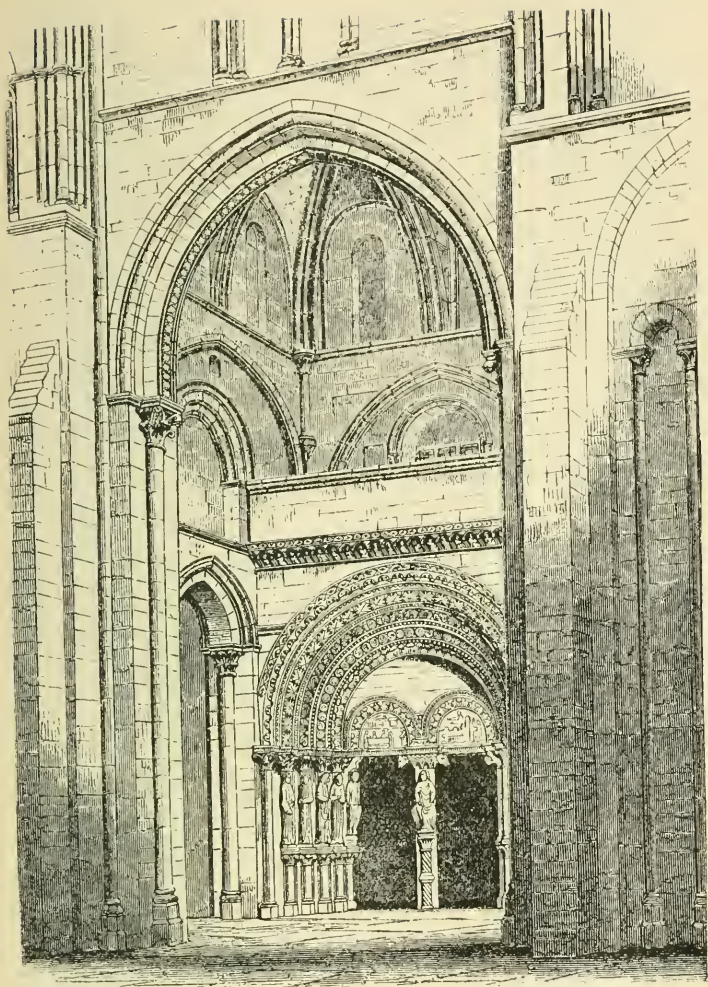


SAN VICENTE, AVILA
NORTH-EAST VIEW

transept façades are very simple: both are pierced with windows of one light high up in the wall, and the northern transept is vigorously treated with a grand system of buttressing, used as mediæval artists alone apparently knew how! The buttresses are mere pilasters at the top, and the eaves-cornices are carried round them and up the flat-pitched gable-line in the way so commonly seen in Italian Gothic. But at mid-height these pilasters are weathered out boldly, and run down to the natural rock on which the church is built, and which here crops up above the surface of the ground: a central buttress is added between the others, and between the buttresses the whole wall is battered out with a long succession of weatherings to the same thickness at the base as the greatest projection of the buttresses. Probably the lower part of this front has been added long after its first erection for the sake of strength; and undoubtedly the somewhat similar system of buttressing which is carried along the north wall of the nave is long subsequent in date to the early church, to which it has been applied. The south transept, owing to the rapid rise of the ground to the south, is much less lofty than the other, and has between its buttresses three high tombs.

The whole south side of the nave is screened, so to speak, by a very singular lofty and open cloister, which extends from the west wall of the transept to a point in advance of the west front. It is very wide, and is entirely open to the south, having occasional piers, with two clustered shafts between each. There is something at first sight about the look of these clustered shafts which might lead one to suppose them to be not later than the thirteenth century; and as the lofty arches are semi-circular, this idea would be strengthened were it not that a careful comparison of the detail with other known early detail proves pretty clearly that they cannot be earlier than about the middle of the fourteenth century. The material—granite—favours this view, for here, just as in our own country, the early architects seem to have avoided the use of granite as much as possible, even where, as at Avila, it lies about everywhere ready for use. There is something so novel and singular about this open loggia or cloister, that I could not help liking it much, though it undoubtedly destroys the proportions, and conceals some of the detail, of the old church in front of which it has been added.

The bays of the aisle are divided by pilaster-buttresses, and lighted with round-headed windows which have external jamb-shafts.



SAN VICENTE, AVILA
INTERIOR OF WESTERN PORCH

The west end is, perhaps, the noblest portion of this very remarkable church. There are two towers placed at the ends of the aisles. These are buttressed at the angles, and arcaded with sunk panels of very considerable height on the outer sides; they are groined with quadripartite vaults, and do not open into the church, but only into the bay between them, which, though it is a continuation of the full height of the nave, is treated simply as a grand open porch, with a lofty pointed arch in its outer (or western) wall, and a double doorway in its eastern wall opening into the church. This porch is roofed with a vault of eight cells, level with that of the nave, and extremely lofty and impressive, therefore, from the exterior, and over the doorway a window opens into the nave. The western, as well as the side arches, have bold engaged shafts, and the groining is also carried on angle shafts. The whole effect is fine, and the light and shade admirable and well contrasted; but the charm of the whole work seemed to me to lie very much in the contrast between the noble simplicity and solid massiveness of the architecture generally, and the marvellous beauty and delicacy of the enrichments of the western doorway, which is certainly one of the very finest transitional works I have ever seen. It is, as will be seen from the engraving, double, with round arches over each division, and the whole enclosed under a larger round arch. Statues of saints are placed in either jamb, and against the central pier in front of the shafts which carry the archivolt, and the latter and the capitals are carved with the most prodigal luxuriance of design and execution, and with a delicacy of detail and a beauty of which an idea cannot be conveyed by words. Sculptured subjects are introduced in the tympana of the smaller arches, and a richly carved string-course is carried across under a parapet which is placed over the doorway. The figures and carving are all wrought in a very fine and delicate stone. The tympana are sculptured on the left with the story of Dives and Lazarus, and on the right with a death-bed scene, where angels carry up the soul to Paradise (5). The detail of the foliage seemed to me to have a very Italianising character, being mostly founded on the acanthus-leaf. The capitals are very delicate, but copied closely from Classic work, and the figures are dignified in their pose, but their draperies are rather thin and full of lines. Some of the shafts are twisted, and beasts of various kinds are freely introduced with the foliage in the sculpture.

To me the sight of such work as this is always somewhat

disheartening. For here in the twelfth century we find men executing work which, both in design and execution, is so immeasurably in advance of anything that we ever see done now, that it seems almost vain to hope for a revival of the old spirit in our own days: vain it might be in any age to hope for better work, but more than vain in this day, if the flimsy conceit and impudent self-assertion which characterise so much modern (so-called) Gothic is still to be tolerated! for evil as has been the influence of the paralysis of art which affected England in the last century, it often seems to me that the influence of thoughtless compliance with what is popular, without the least study, the least art, or the least love for their work on the part of some of the architects who pretend to design Gothic buildings at the present day, may, without our knowing it, land us in a worse result even than that which our immediate ancestors arrived at. Here, however, at Avila, in this porch of San Vicente, let us reverence rightly the art and skill of him who built, not only so delicately and beautifully, but also so solidly and so well; let us try to follow his example, knowing for certain that in this combination lies the true merit of all the best architecture—Pagan or Christian—that the world has ever seen.

The three stages of the western towers are, I think, respectively of the twelfth, thirteenth, and fifteenth centuries. The second or intermediate stage is arcaded, and has its angles planned with a shaft set in a broad splay precisely in the mode we see so commonly adopted in the Segovian towers.¹ The upper stage is finished with gables on each face, the gable being fringed with a line of granite trefoils in not very good taste. Gil Gonzales Dávila² says that the tower of this church was built by alms in A.D. 1440. He refers, no doubt, to the upper stage, the design of which agrees with this statement. I was not able to learn how it had originally been roofed; but my impression is that it probably had two stone gabled roofs intersecting each other.

In addition to the western door there is another fine entrance on the south side of rather earlier date than the other, and now always in use as the ordinary entrance to the church. Descending here by some steps from the cloister, we find ourselves in the impressive interior, and are at once struck by some features which are of rare occurrence in this part of Spain. The columns are of very bold, perhaps heavy, design, and rest on circular

¹ See the illustration of San Esteban, Segovia.

² *Teatro. Eccl.* ii. 230.

bases. Their front portion is carried up on a bold and massive groining pier in front of the main wall; the arcades are severely simple, the arches semi-circular, and the capitals richly carved. A carved string-course is carried round the church above the arches, and there is the very uncommon arrangement (in this country) of a well-developed triforium; each bay here having a round-arched opening, subdivided into two smaller openings, divided by a massive column with sculptured capital. Another string-course divides the triforium and clerestory, which has also round-arched windows of one light. The vaulting, both in the nave and aisles, is quadripartite, the only remarkable feature in it being the massive size of the ribs.

The three eastern apses are vaulted with waggon-vaults over their western compartments, and semi-domes over the apses, and the transepts are roofed with waggon-vaults. All the latter have cross arches or ribs below them carried on engaged shafts, and the side walls of the chancel and chancel-aisles are arcaded below the vaulting.

The central lantern is carried on piers, which have evidently been in great part rebuilt at some time subsequent to the foundation of the church. They carry pointed arches of granite, clumsily moulded, and have rudely-carved capitals. Two piers on the south of the nave next the Crossing, and one on the north, were either partly or altogether rebuilt at the same time, and it looks very much as though the first lantern had partly fallen, and then, two centuries after the original foundation of the church, the existing one had been erected, for over the pointed arches there still seem to be remains of the older round arches. The lantern is rather loftier than is usual; it is vaulted with an eight-ribbed dome, carried on arched pendentives, and is lighted by small windows of two lights in its upper stage. Dávila¹ says that this church was rebuilt in the time of Ferdinand "*El Santo*" (1252-84), who endowed it with certain rents for the purpose. But other authorities say, with more show of probability, that the work undertaken in this year was the repair of the church. The rebuilding at this date, which is utterly inconsistent with the whole character of the church, agrees, nevertheless, very well indeed with that of the lantern. Subsequently, in A.D. 1440, according to Dávila,² the tower of the church was built, and this statement probably refers to the upper stages of the western steeples. The crypt under the choir, called *Nra. Sra. de Soterraña*, is important only for its position: it is

¹ *Teatro Eccl.* ii. 229.

² *Teatro Eccl.* ii. 230.

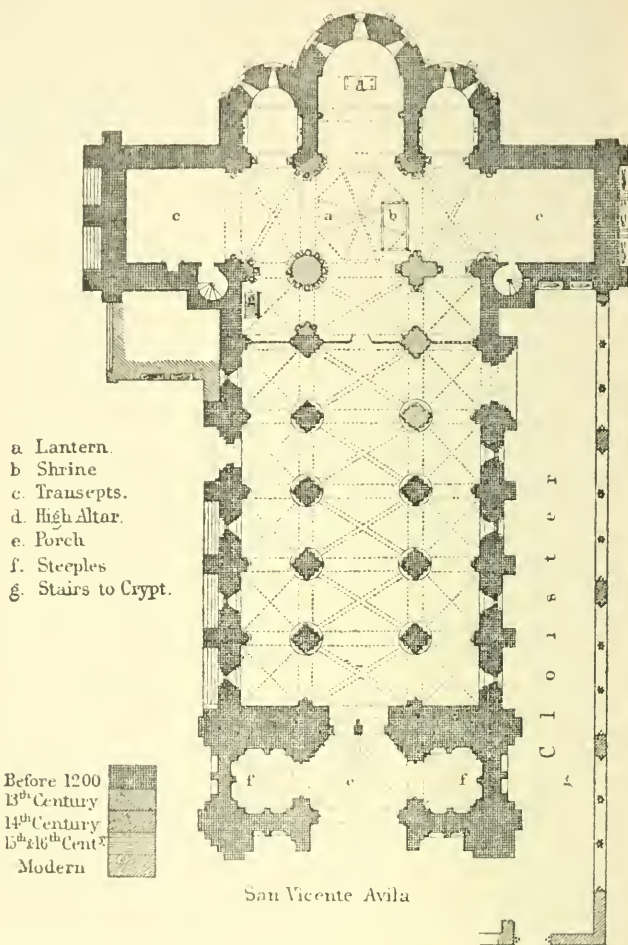
entered by a long flight of steps from the east end of the north aisle, and extends under the three eastern apses. It is mainly modernised, and the great attraction seems to be the hole in which, as I understood, people who wish to take a solemn oath put their hands whilst they swear.

There are no original ritual arrangements remaining here; but an iron Reja is carried across the nave and aisles one bay to the west of the crossing, and here probably was the old place for the Coro, as the position of the shrine of San Vicente under one side of the lantern would have made it impossible for the Coro to be placed nearer the east.

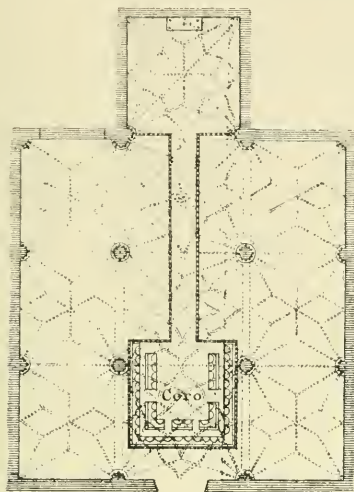
Some features still remain to be noticed, and the most important is the tomb or shrine of the tutelars—San Vicente and his brethren. This is picturesquely placed on one side of the space under the lantern, with entire disregard to that desire for balance everywhere which so painfully affects almost all of us now-a-days. It is a thirteenth-century erection standing on detached shafts, within which appears to be a tomb which is always kept covered with a silken pall. Over this is a lofty canopy carried on four bold shafts at the angles, and consisting of a deep square tester, above which is a lofty pyramidal capping with its sides slightly concave and crockets at the angles. It is rather difficult to convey an idea of this very remarkable work without large and careful illustrations. The inner tomb or shrine is the really important work, the outer canopy or tester being evidently a much later addition.¹ The shrine has all the character of an early pointed Italian Gothic work. Its canopy is carried on clusters of four shafts twisted together, at each of the angles; between them, on each side, are three coupled columns, and at the east and west ends are single shafts. These carry trefoiled or many-cusped arches, the spandrels of which are sculptured; and above this is a sort of shrine with a sloping stone scalloped all over on either side, and a steep diapered roof rising out of the centre. A series of subjects is carved in panels all along the sides of the shrine, which seem to have reference to three saints and martyrs—probably to San Vicente and his companions. Figures of the Twelve Apostles are introduced, two and two, at the angles, and other figures sitting and reading between the subjects. A late iron screen between the columns of the outer baldachin makes it rather difficult either to see or

¹ "In 1465 the sepulchre of the martyrs was made by donations from the Catholic kings, prelates," etc. D. Andres H. Gallejo, *Memoria sobre la Basilica de San Vicente*, p. 13. This date can only refer to the canopy.

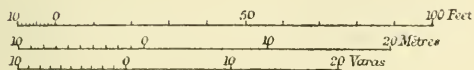
AVILA: San Vicente



MEDINA DEL CAMPO: S: Antholin:



S. Antholin
Medina del Campo



to sketch this interesting work carefully. Its detail is all very peculiar, and in the twisted and sculptured shafts, the strange form of some of the cusping, and the iron ties with which it is undisguisedly held together, I thought I saw evident traces of the influence of Italian art. I take the shrine to be a work of the thirteenth century, though the baldachin is no doubt of later date.

Near this shrine in the south aisle is some very fine rich and delicate wrought-ironwork in a *grille* round a side altar. It is possibly part of the old choir-screen, and at any rate does not belong to the place in which it is now preserved. The beauty of this work consists in the delicacy of the thin strips of iron, which are bent into a succession of circular lines ending in roses, and on an excessively small and delicate scale. Some similar work is still to be seen in one of the windows of the apse.

The arches on either side of the great western porch are filled in with open trelliswork wood-screens, which show how good occasionally may be the adaptation by Gothic hands of Moorish work. Here the lines of wood cross each other at intervals, leaving, of course, a regular series or diaper of open squares. The edges of all these are simply cut out in a pattern, or notched, in a variety of forms, and the effect is extremely good. The same kind of work is common in Moorish buildings, but I had not seen it before so boldly used by Christians.

San Vicente stands outside the walls of Avila, close to one of the principal gates, and near the north-east angle of the city. The church of San Pedro is similarly placed at the south-east angle, and at the end of a large open Plaza called the Mercado Grande. It is not a little remarkable that so soon after the enclosure of the city within enormous walls two of the most important of its churches should have been built deliberately just outside them, and exposed to whatever risks their want of defence entailed. In plan and general design San Pedro is very similar indeed to San Vicente. It has a nave and aisles of five bays, transepts of unusual projection, a central lantern, and three apsidal projections to the east. The doors, too, are in the centre of the west front, and in the next bay but one to the transept on both sides. The detail is almost all of a simple and extremely massive kind of Romanesque, round arches being used everywhere and uncarved capitals with square abaci. The nave piers are of the commonly repeated section, but very large in proportion to the weight they have to carry. There is no triforium, and the clerestory windows are of moderate size,

whilst those in the aisles are very small, and placed as high as possible from the floor. The groining generally is quadripartite, and some of the ribs boldly moulded in a manner which suggests the possibility of this severe Romanesque-looking work being in truth not earlier than *circa* 1250 (6). The transepts and the western portion of the apses are covered with waggon-vaults, and the apses themselves with semi-domes. The lantern over the Crossing is probably not earlier than A.D. 1350, the mark of the junction with the old work just over the arches into the transepts being still very plainly visible. The vaulting here is very peculiar. Groined pendentives at the angles are introduced to bring the vault to an octagon in plan, but the eight compartments are variously treated; those on the cardinal sides having ordinary vaulting cells over the windows, whilst those on the intermediate or diagonal sides are crossed with four segments of a dome with the masonry arranged in horizontal courses.

The west front has three circular windows, that in the centre having wheel tracery; the north doorway has a richly-sculptured archivolt, which is later in character than the general scheme of the church, having an order of good dog-tooth enrichment, and the abacus is carved with rosettes. There are staircases in the usual position in the angle between the transepts and the aisles, and the apses are divided into bays by engaged shafts with sculptured capitals. There is, in fact, not very much to be said about this otherwise noble and remarkable church, because it repeats to so great an extent most of the features of its neighbour San Vicente. Yet its scale, character, and antiquity are all such as would make us class it, if it were in England, among our most remarkable examples of late Romanesque.

There are several other churches in Avila,¹ but the only one besides those already mentioned of which I made any notes is that of the Convent of Santo Tomás, built between A.D. 1482 and 1493.² In a charter of Ferdinand the Catholic, dated May 29, 1490, reference is made to this monastery, together with those

¹ The following inscriptions on churches in Avila are given by G. G. Dávila. On a stone in San Nicolas, "In honorem B. Nicolai dedicavit hanc ecclesiam Jacobus Abulensis Episcopus, etc., etc., vi. Kal. Novembris, era MCC.XXXVI." On a stone in San Bartolomeo, "In honorem S. Bartholomei Apost. dedicavit hanc ecclesiam Petrus Episcopus, etc., etc., vii. idus Decembris, MCCXLVIII." The same bishop consecrated Santo Domingo in 1240.

² Cean Bermudez, *Arq. de España*, i. 113. This convent is said to have been founded by the Catholic monarchs entirely with the confiscated goods of Jews.

of Sta. Cruz, Segovia; San Juan de los Reyes, Toledo; Sta. Engracia, Zaragoza; and other churches in Granada, etc., all of them founded by that King and Queen Isabella. They founded this convent on the petition of Confessor P. W. Tomás de Torquemada.

The convent has been closed for some years, but has just been purchased by the Bishop of Avila, who is now repairing it throughout, with the intention, I believe, of using it as a theological seminary. The detail of the conventual buildings, which surround two cloisters, one of which is of great size, is, as might be expected, of the latest kind of Gothic, and extremely poor and uninteresting, whilst the design of the church, as so often seems to be the case with these very late Spanish churches, is full of interest. It has a nave of five bays with side chapels between the buttresses, short transepts, and a very short square chancel to the east of the Crossing; but the remarkable feature is, that not only is there a large gallery filling the two western bays of the nave, and fitted up with seventy stalls with richly-carved canopies, the old choir-book desk in the centre, and two ambons projecting from the eastern parapet, but that there is also another gallery at the east end, in which the high altar, with its fine carved and painted Retablo, is placed. This eastern gallery has also gospel and epistle ambons projecting from its front. Strange as the whole arrangement of this interior is, it strikes me as almost more strange that it should not have been one of constant occurrence in a country where at one period the Coro was so constantly elevated in a western gallery. For there is a sort of natural propriety, as it seems to me, in the elevation of an altar, where folk care at all for the mysteries celebrated at it, to at least as high a level as any part of the church used for service; and undoubtedly the effect of the altar-service to those in the raised Coro is much, if not altogether, marred where the altar is in its usual place on the floor. Here the effect is certainly very fine, whether the altar is looked at from the Coro or from the floor of the nave below it; and from the former in particular, the strangeness of looking across the deep-sunk well of the nave to the noble altar raised high above it at the east is in every way most attractive. The detail of all the architecture here is very uninteresting, though the many-ribbed vaulting is certainly good, and the effect of the dark cavernous nave under the western gallery is very fine in light and shade. Rarely as I trouble my reader with any reference to Renaissance works, I must here in justice say that the great tomb of Don Juan, the son of Ferdinand

and Isabella, which occupies the floor below the altar, is one of the most tender, fine, and graceful works I have ever seen, and worthy of any school of architecture. The recumbent effigy, in particular, is as dignified, graceful, and religious as it well could be, and in no respect unworthy of a good Gothic artist. It was executed by Micer Domenico Alexandro Florentesi, who refers to it in a contract which he entered into with Cardinal Ximenes in 1518; but it is said to have been completed as early as A.D. 1498.¹ At present it is necessary to get an order to see it from the Bishop, who has the key of the church; doubtless before long this will not be necessary, but it is well to give the caution, as the convent is some little distance beyond the town walls, and the Bishop's palace is in the very centre of the city (7).

It will be felt, I think, that Avila is a city which ought on no account to be left unseen in an architectural tour in Spain. Fortunately it is now as easy of access as it was once difficult, for the railway from Valladolid to Madrid, in order to cross the Sierra de Guadarrama, makes a great détour by Avila, and thence on to the Escorial is carried on through the mountain ranges with considerable exhibition of engineering skill, and with great advantage to the traveller, as the views throughout the whole distance are almost always extremely beautiful.

I did not stop on my road to see the Escorial: as far as the building is concerned, it is enough I think to know that Herrera designed it, to be satisfied that it will be cold, insipid, and formal in character. And the glimpses I had of it as I passed amply justified this expectation. It is, too, as utterly unsuited to its position on the mountain-side as it well could be. On the other hand, I no doubt lost much in neglecting to make the excursions to the various points of view which it is the fashion for visitors to go to, though it seemed to me that the country in the neighbourhood of La Granja, which one passes on the road from the Escorial to Segovia, was more interesting than this, the mountains being as high and much more finely wooded.

¹ Cean Bermudez, *Dicc., etc., de los Bellas Artes en España*, ii. 125.

NOTES

(1) Two in the nave now—that makes four.

(2) The retables are all a little late for my taste, though the painting is Italianate still. Street picked out the best of them. The Retablo Mayor, by Berruguete, is carved with eighteen scenes, beside statues of the Madonna, S. Antholin, and various saints. Presenting the story of Mary, from the meeting at the golden gate of the temple through the Infancy, the Passion, Pentecost, and the martyrdom of S. Antholin, it is all treated precisely as painting would be, plain, legible, without exaggeration, built up of many units, with a delicate subordination of scale. It is like tarnished goldsmith's work, bossy and dimly glimmering. The quattrocento in Spain was infinitely fertile in its saintly legends, ranging scene beyond scene, but the carved retables that came later are fairly monotonous as they rehearse the story of Our Lady and Our Lord and array the saints for splendour more than for edification. In even so good a one as this the twenty-six saints are like orphans in an asylum, not indeed alike, but not in any way distinguishable.

(3) D. José Maria Quadrado¹ says that the new cathedral was probably built by Count Raymond, the father of Alfonso the Emperor (1130-35), and that he has seen the documents of donation to Bishop Sancho for this purpose (1121-33).

(4) San Vicente is now under restoration.

(5) This is the soul of Lazarus. M. Camille Enlart noticed the likeness between this portal and that of S. Lazare at Avallon, where the scenes would be in place. Here they are so irrelevant that by the rules merely of common sense we must believe the workman was rather stupidly copying. The history of the church falls in with this. It was begun under Alfonso VI., who commended to his son-in-law, Raymond, Count of Burgundy, the re-peopling of Avila. Accordingly, in 1090 the count fetched ninety French knights and twenty-two masters of *piedras taller* (stone cutting) and twelve of *jometria* for the work of the walls. In 1109 the work on San Vicente was well along. Señor Lampérez conjectures that its author was some Burgundian monk of Cluny, come to Spain with the count. In 1252 Ferdinand III., in 1280 Alfonso X., in 1290 Sancho the Brave, yielded rents to repair the basilica, "*que estava mal parada para se caer*." In sum, the building is pure Burgundian, built for barrel-vaulting in the nave, which now has Angevine vaults resting on capitals set askew to receive the ribs, and the lantern seems also Angevine. Finally, we note that the tribune of the narthex has a niche for an altar on the inner side, as has that at Vézelay.

(6) This, like S. Vincent, was built for barrel-vaulting and the capitals are twisted.

(7) Santo Tomás is now in daily use, but as it preserves strict *clausura* against women, the cloisters and both galleries, with the

¹ *España*.

painted Retablo Mayor, are inaccessible to them. The tomb, however, is worth a hot pull up hill afterwards, very lovely and pure Italian work. In addition, I transcribe, partly from my own notebook and partly from *Monumentos Arquitectonicos*, the following notes on two other late Romanesque churches.

San Andrés has no light to speak of; a timber roof on tall shafts in four bays; three apses; a tower at the north side of the west end, and a sacristy on the same side behind the apse.

San Secundo, of two bays almost as airy as early Renaissance building on shafts of grey granite, the high bases carved with rough flowers, is, for the rest, of honey-coloured stone; the wooden roof penthouse over the aisles, *artesonado* in the nave; the three parallel apses barrel-vaulted, opening together by arches; the west door with two shafts in the jambs and three rows of roses in the arch—the whole church unfrequented, very sweet, and solitary.

CHAPTER IX

SEGOVIA

FEW journeys can be made by the ecclesiologist in Spain which will be altogether more agreeable or more fruitful of results than one to this time-honoured city; for not only does it contain within its walls more than the usual number of objects of architectural and ecclesiological interest, but the road by which it is usually approached, across the Sierra de Guadarrama, presents so much fine scenery as to be in itself sufficient to repay the traveller for his work. It was from Madrid that I made my way to Segovia, taking the railway as far as the little station at Villalba, near the Escorial, and travelling thence by a fairly-appointed diligence. The very fine and picturesque granite ranges of the Guadarrama are generally bare and desolate on their southern side, though here and there are small tracts of oak-copse, or fern, or pine-trees; but, after a slow ascent of some three or four hours, when the summit of the pass is reached, the character of the scenery changes entirely, and the road winds down through picturesque valleys and dips in the hills, which are here thickly covered everywhere with pine-trees of magnificent growth. It is necessary to travel for a time in the dismal plains of Old Castile, to enjoy to the full the sudden change to the mountain beauties of the Guadarrama; and it is impossible not to sympathise with the kings of Spain, who at La Granja, on the lower slopes of the northern side of the range, have built themselves a palace within easy reach of Madrid, and—owing to its height above the sea—in a climate utterly different from, and much more endurable than, that of the capital. Of the palace they have built I must speak with less respect than I do of their choice of its site, for it is now untidy in its belongings and apparently little cared for. A church forms the centre of it, and the whole group of buildings has slated roofs, diversified by an abundance of *tourelles*. The walls are all plastered and covered with decaying paintings of architectural decorations—columns, cornices, and the like—which give a thoroughly pauperised look to the whole place. But probably the interior of the palace and its famous gardens would correct the impression

which I received from a hurried inspection of the exterior only. It is an uninteresting drive of about an hour from La Granja to Segovia. The tower of the cathedral is seen long before reaching the city; but it is not till one is very near to it that the first complete view is gained, and this, owing to the way in which the Alcazar and cathedral stand up upon a rocky height above the suburbs, and the streams which girt it on either side, is very picturesque. Even finer is it as one drives on through the suburb and first finds oneself in presence of the grand old Roman aqueduct, which, still perfect and still in use, spans with its magnificent ranges of arch upon arch the valley which separates the city rock from the hills beyond. Its base is girt closely round by houses, and the diligence road passes under one of its arches, so that the enormous scale upon which it is built is thoroughly appreciated, and it is quite impossible not to admire the extreme simplicity and grandeur of the work. Nothing here was done that was useless or merely ornamental, and the whole still stands with but little repair—and that little well done—after so many centuries of good service, as useful as at the first.

A steep hill leads up from the valley below the aqueduct through a gateway in the walls into the city, and after threading the narrow winding streets we find ourselves in the fine Plaza de la Constitucion, which is surrounded by picturesque balconied houses, save at its north-west angle, where it opens so as to allow a fine view of the east end of the cathedral. The houses have generally extremely picturesque open upper stages of wood arcading, and the windows and balconies are all gay with the heavy curtains which protect them from the sun.

The situation of the city is in every way striking. On either side of it there is a deep valley, and these at their meeting have between them the great rock on which the Alcazar is built—as admirably secure a site for a castle as could have been selected. Going eastward along the narrow ridge the cathedral is soon reached, and this is the centre of the city, which then widens somewhat, before the edge of the hill is reached which leads down to the suburb below the aqueduct. In the two valleys are some of the best of the buildings: San Millan in one, the Templars' Church and the Convent of El Parral in the other; but most of the old churches are crowded closely together on the summit of the hill.

I shall begin my architectural notes with the cathedral, in deference only to its rank, and not at all to its age or architectural merits. It is nevertheless a building of no little value

in the history of Spanish art, as being perhaps the latest Gothic building erected, and one which was yet but little influenced by Renaissance art. In the Appendix I give a translation of the interesting contemporary account of the church, written by one Juan Rodriguez, who appears to have been the canon in charge of the work. According to his account, Juan Gil de Hontañon, the architect of Salamanca Cathedral, was appointed in A.D. 1522 to superintend the work, and on the 8th of June in the same year the Bishop ordered a procession, and, going himself to the site of the church, laid its foundation-stone at the western end. Cean Bermudez, in his account of this cathedral, speaks of a competition among several architects for the work, and says that the design of Rodrigo Gil de Hontañon—the son of Juan Gil—was selected.¹ But this seems to be clearly contrary to the distinct statement of the Canon Juan Rodriguez. The work was commenced, as we have seen, in 1522, and Juan Gil seems to have died *circa* 1531. His son Rodrigo was not made *Maestro mayor* until 1560, and on the 5th of August, 1563, laid the first stone of the Capilla mayor. The inscription on his tombstone in the cloister² says that he laid the first stone of the church; but if he did so it was on behalf of his father, who was then undoubtedly the *Maestro mayor*, and we may assume, I believe, that the greater part of the church, as we now see it, was finished before the year 1577, in which he died, though, indeed, Madoz says that the Sacrament was moved to the new cathedral as early as 1558, though the chapels of the apse were not completed until 1593. The north door, by Juanes de Mugaguren, was added in A.D. 1626, and is thoroughly Pagan.

The plan³ of this church must be compared with that of the new cathedral at Salamanca, built by the same man. The details of the two churches are very similar; but the scale of Segovia is slightly greater than that of Salamanca, and it has the enormous advantage of having a grand chevet in place of a square east end. It will be seen, on reference to my account of Salamanca, that the architects who drew up the scheme for the cathedral there, intended that its end should be circular, but that nevertheless it has not been so built. It seems probable, therefore, that Hontañon felt that this alteration was a mistake, or else that we owe the amended plan of Segovia to the better

¹ Cean Bermudez, *Arg. de España*, i. 214.

² Here lies Rodrigo Gil de Hontañon, Master of the Works of this Holy Church. He died the 31st of May 1577. He set the first stone, which the Bishop D. Diego de Ribera laid on the 8th of June 1525.

³ Plate XII., p. 264.

taste of his son Rodrigo, who was master of the works of the eastern portion of the church. But in any case, whether it is to the father or the son that we owe it, the internal effect is undoubtedly very noble, in spite of all the shortcomings which must be looked for in a work of such a date. The main columns are of grand dimensions, moulded, and rising from lofty bases planned with that ingenious complication of lines which was always so much affected by the later German and Spanish architects. The arches are very lofty, and there is no triforium, but only a traceried balustrade in front of the clerestory, which consists of uncusped triplets filling the wall above the springing of the groining, and very low in proportion to the great height of the church, though at the same time amply sufficient for the admission of all the light necessary in such a climate. The aisle has a somewhat similar clerestory, but without the traceried balustrade which we see in the nave clerestory, and the aisles and chapels are all lighted with windows, each of one broad light. Most of the smaller arches here are semi-circular; but though this is the case, and though so many of the windows are of one light, there is no appearance anywhere of any attempt to revive the form or detail of earlier work.

On the exterior the general character is just the same as that of Hontañón's work at Salamanca. There are the same pinnacles and buttresses, the same parapets, and the same concealment of the roofs and roof-lines everywhere—even in the transepts, which have no gables—and there is also a domed lantern over the Crossing and a lofty tower at the west end, finished with an octagonal stage covered with a dome, and rising from between four great pinnacles. So great, in short, are all the points of similarity, that I can well believe that portions of the two works may have been executed from the same plans, and this close copying of the earlier work at Salamanca may perhaps have been the true reason of the respectably Gothic detail of the chevet, built as it was so near the end of the sixteenth century. The groining is all of the kind so common in Spain, having ogee lierne ribs in addition to the diagonal, and in place of ridge ribs.

Not a little of the grand effect of the interior is owing to the rich stained glass with which all, or nearly all, the windows are filled. It is all, of course, of the very latest kind, and poor in much of its design; yet nevertheless it is often magnificent in colour, and in this respect quite beyond anything that most of our artists in glass seem to me to accomplish nowadays. The Coro is here—and probably was from the first—in the nave;

but there is nothing either in its fittings or in those of the Capilla mayor which struck me as worthy of note. The detail of the central dome is quite Pagan, and here and there throughout the work little indications of the same spirit peep out, and show how narrow was the escape which the whole church had of being from first to last executed in the Renaissance style.

With all its faults this church has grand points: this every one will allow who has seen it rising in a noble pyramidal mass above the houses of the town from the open space in front of the Alcazar, from whence all its parts are seen to great advantage. Of the other subordinate buildings I need not say much. The canon, whose account I give in the Appendix, is much more enthusiastic about them than I was, for in truth they are cold and tame in design and meagre in detail; and wanting the effect of height and colour of the interior of the cathedral, want all that makes it so striking. I saw no great, if any, difference of style between the cloisters and the church; but they were the cloisters of the old church, and were removed here by a contract entered into by one Juan de Campero in 1524. Campero was one of the architects consulted as to the rebuilding of Salamanca Cathedral, and was evidently a mason or builder as well as an architect. I was not aware of the history of the cloister when I was at Segovia, and I did not notice any evidence of the work having been rebuilt and added to in the way described.

The cathedral is the largest and most important, but at the same time the most modern mediæval building in Segovia; whilst, on the contrary, one of the smallest, the church of the Templars, is also one of the most ancient and curious; it is situated by the roadside just out of the city, on its north-west side, and below the great rock which is crowned by the Alcazar. The date of its consecration in A.D. 1208 is given by an inscription which still remains in the interior, and which has been incorrectly given by Cean Bermudez. It is as follows:—

Hæc sacra fundantes cœlesti sede locentur;
Atque suberrantes in eadem consociantur.
Dedicatio ecclesiæ beati Sepulchri Xrti
Idus Aprilis Era MCCXLVI. +.

The plan is very peculiar.¹ The nave is dodecagonal, and has a small central chamber enclosed with solid walls, round which the vaulted nave forms a kind of aisle. This central chamber is of two stories in height, the lower entered by archways in the cardinal sides, and the upper by a double flight of steps leading

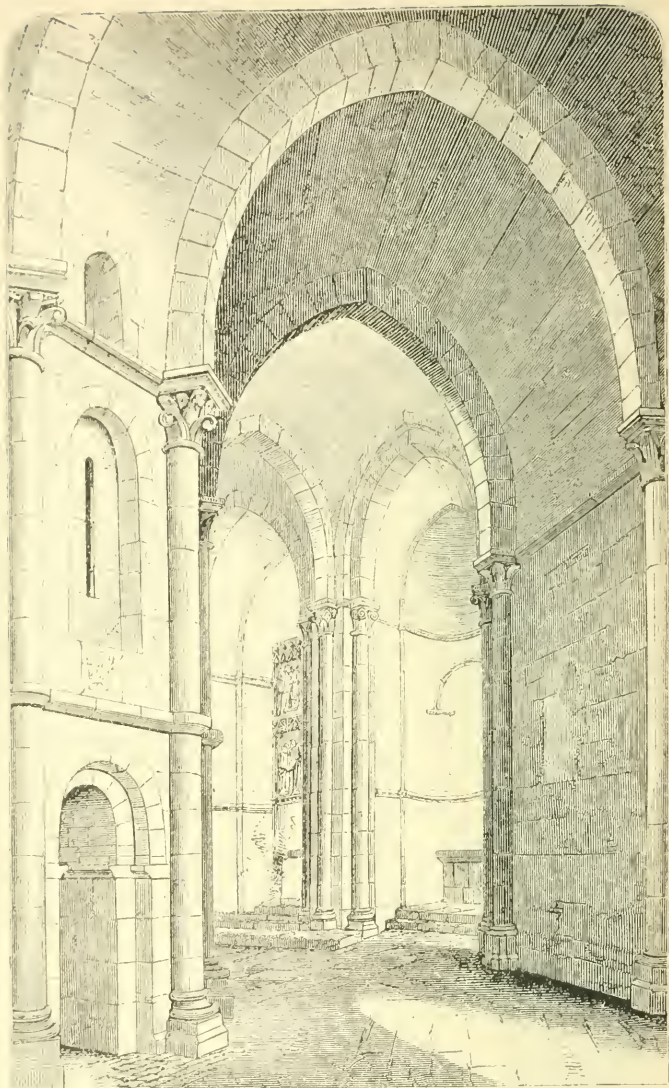
¹ See ground-plan, Plate VIII., p. 178.

to a door in its western side. The upper room is vaulted with a domical roof which has below it four ribs, two parallel north and south, and two parallel east and west, and it retains the original stone altar, arcaded on its sides with a delicately wrought chevron enrichment and chevroned shafts. The upper chapel is lighted by seven little windows opening into the aisle around it. The room below the chapel has also a dome, with ribs on its under side. On the east side of the building are the chancel and two chapels, forming parallel apses, to the south of which is a low steeple, the bottom stage of which is also converted into a chapel. The chapel in the centre of the nave is carried up and finished externally with a pointed roof, whilst the aisle is roofed with a lean-to abutting against its walls. There are pilasters at the angles outside, small windows high up in the walls, and a fine round-arched doorway on the western side. The character of the whole of this interesting church is late Romanesque, and its value is considerable, as being an accurately dated example. It is not now used, the Templars having been suppressed in A.D. 1312 (1).

Within a few minutes' walk of this church of La Vera Cruz (for this is its dedication) is the convent of El Parral, founded in the fifteenth century,¹ by a Marquis de Villena, on a spot once so beautiful as to give rise to the saying, "Los huertos del Parral, Paraiso terrenal," but now so dreary, desolate, decaying, and desecrated, that the eye refuses to rest on it, and seeks relief by looking rather at the grand view of the town on the rocky heights on the other side of the little valley.

Juan Gallego, a native of Segovia, was the master of the works here in 1459, and it is recorded that before beginning to construct the convent he collected all the waters from the hill above its site, and distributed them by aqueducts for the service of the convent. The Capilla mayor was not commenced until A.D. 1472, in which year a contract was drawn up with Bonifacio and Juan de Guas, of Segovia, and Pedro Polido, of Toledo, binding them to complete the work within three years, for the sum of 400,000 maravedis. Then the tribune of the Coro was found to be too low for the taste of the monks, and it was taken down and rebuilt by Juan de Ruesga, of Segovia, for 125,000 maravedis; and by a contract signed in July, 1494, he

¹ Colmenares (*Historia de la insigne Ciudad de Segovia*; Segovia, 1637) gives the date of the first foundation 1447, but the buildings do not seem to have been begun before 1474, and the vaulting was finished in 1485.—Cean Bermudez, *Arq. de España*, i. 111.



SEGOVIA

INTERIOR OF THE TEMPLARS' CHURCH LOOKING N.E.

bound himself to complete the work before the end of the same year. After this, in 1529, Juan Campero, whose name has already been mentioned in connection with the rebuilding of the cloister of the cathedral, undertook to raise the tower twenty-nine feet.¹

The ground-plan and general design of this church are very peculiar. The accompanying sketch-plan² will explain them better than any words; and, strange as the planning of the transept looks, it is, nevertheless, very fine in effect. This is mainly the result of the very remarkable distribution of light. The western part of the church is almost without windows, and the great western gallery coming forward just half the length of the nave, adds much to the impression of gloom at this end of the building. The eastern end seems to be by contrast all window, being lighted by twelve large three-light windows, with statues of the Apostles in their jambs. The effect of the brilliant light at the east end, and the deep gloom of the west, is most impressive, and shows how much architects may do by the careful distribution of light. Few old buildings are altogether without some sign of attention to this important element of beauty in building, whilst few modern buildings seem to me ever to have been devised with even any thought of the existence of such a phenomenon as a shadow! The front of the gallery is elaborately panelled, and returned eastward on the north side, to form a gallery in front of the organ; and on the south, to make a passageway to the staircase by which the monks reached the Coro. The arch under the gallery is struck from three centres and richly cusped, and the whole is carried on a stone vault. A very richly carved and cusped doorway leads from the south transept to the cloisters, and to an elaborately painted chapel, which has been added on the south-east of the choir. The exterior of the church and convent is poor and uninteresting, though there is a rather fine double west door, with a statue of the Blessed Virgin in the centre, and saints on either side in the jambs.

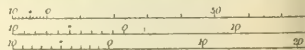
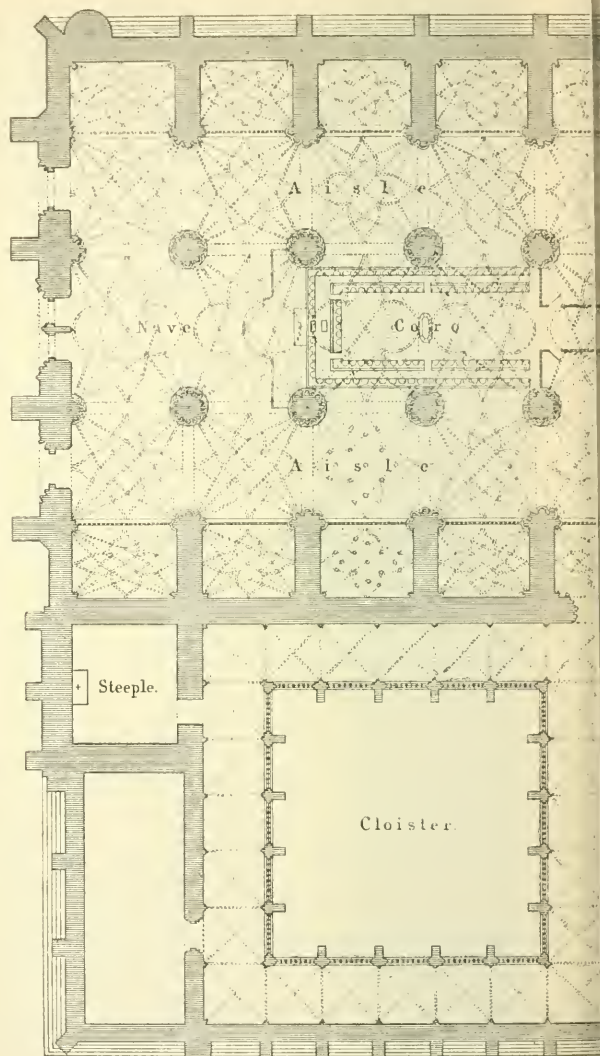
The conventual buildings deserve but little notice. In the modern cloister — fast falling to ruin — are retained the traceried balustrades which probably adorned the cloister built at the time of the foundation of the convent.

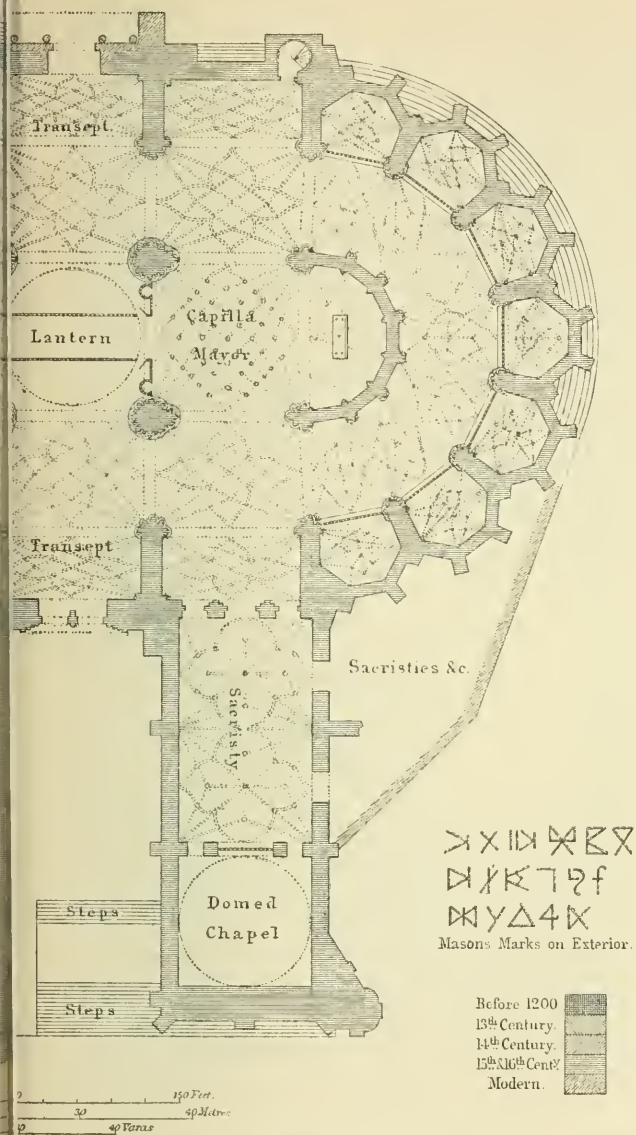
A very picturesque path leads up from El Parral into the city. The effect of the Alcazar from hence is very imposing, the

¹ These particulars are all given in Cean Bermudez, *Arg. de España*, i. 111, 120, 146.

² See Plate VIII., p. 178.

SEGOVIA:—Ground Plan of the Cathedral:





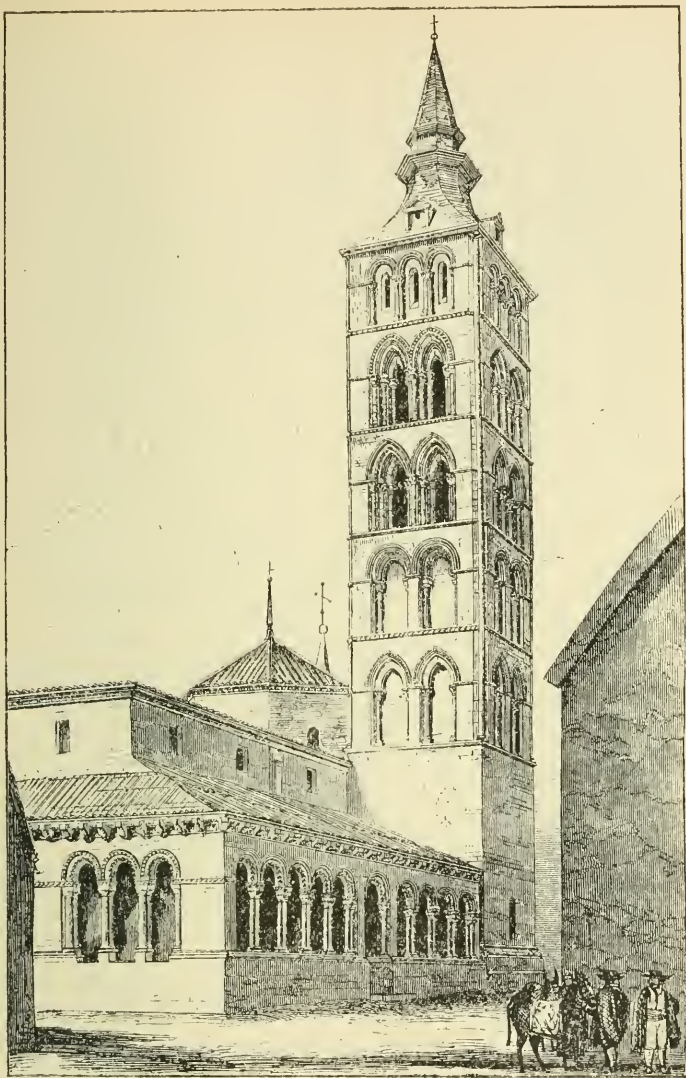
enormous keep-tower which rises out of its western face being very prominent, with its outline marked by round corner turrets projecting from the angles so often seen in the old castles of Castile. Its walls, as well as many others in the Alcazar, are covered with diapers in plaster, with the pattern left slightly in relief, a mode of decoration which seems to have been extremely popular in Segovia in the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries. Until very lately this Alcazar was covered with picturesque tall slated roofs, but, unfortunately, a fire has completely gutted the whole building, and left nothing but the outside walls, which still, however, are most imposing in their effect (2). The old town walls diverge slightly from the Alcazar, and enclose the whole city; their outline is broken picturesquely with towers, sometimes round and sometimes square, and they wind about to suit the uneven and rugged surface of the rock on which they are built. The gateways are not very remarkable, though always effective. One of them is passed in coming from El Parral, and, as soon as the town is reached, the noble steeple of San Esteban—one of its finest architectural features—is seen in front.

I have seldom seen a better work than this. It is evidently one of a large class, most of the other steeples here reproducing the unusual arrangement of the angles. They are boldly splayed off, and in the middle of the splay is set a shaft, which finishes with a sculptured capital. The effect of this design is to give great softness of contour to the whole steeple, and yet to mark boldly and broadly the importance of the angles. The arcading of the various stages is richly and admirably managed, and the details throughout are very pure and good. I have found no evidence of its exact date (3), though it is evidently a work of the first half of the thirteenth century.

The church to which this steeple belongs is remarkable for the remains of an external cloister against the walls of the nave. There are several churches here which have the same feature, and in other parts of this book I have mentioned similar cases at Las Huelgas, Burgos, and at La Antigua, Valladolid. It looks like an arrangement for keeping the building cool, and is as good in its effect as in so hot a climate it must be convenient.

Of the early churches here none is altogether so fine as that of San Millan. It stands in the southern valley, not far from the aqueduct, and exactly on the opposite side of the town to the 'Templars' Church. Like that, too, it is outside the walls, and in a scantily-peopled suburb. It consists of a nave and aisles,¹ all

¹ See ground-plan, Plate VIII., p. 179.

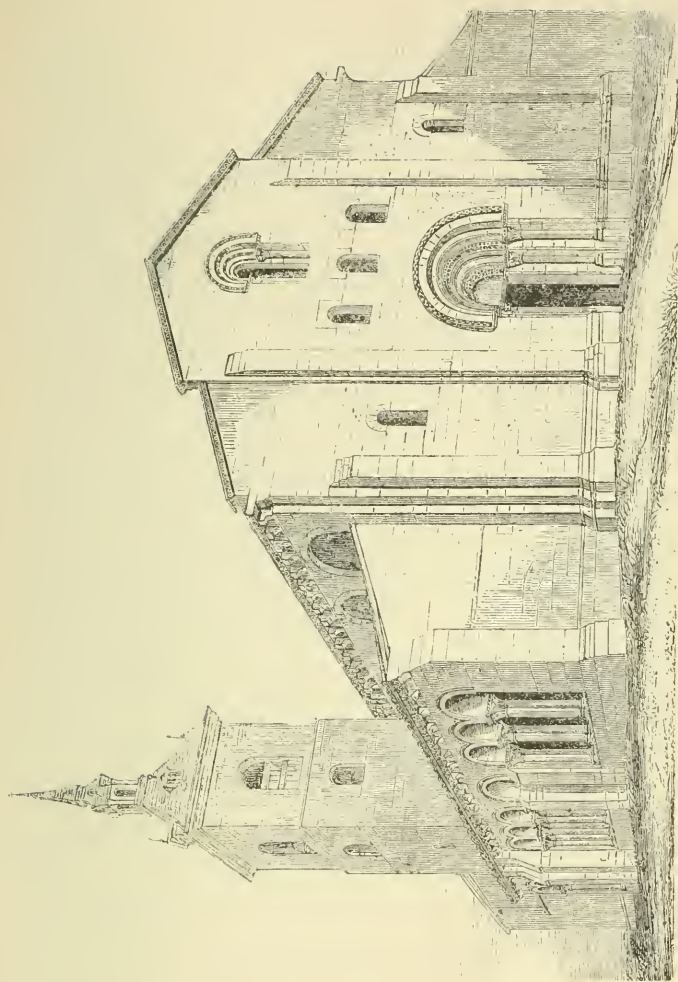


SAN ESTEBAN, SEGOVIA

SOUTH-EAST VIEW OF CHURCH AND STEEPLE

finished at the east end with apses, and protected on both sides by cloisters similar to those of San Esteban, save that they are confined to the sides, and do not return across the west front. There is a low square lantern at the Crossing, and transepts which do not project beyond the aisles, and hardly show themselves, therefore, on the ground-plan. The central lantern is finished with a corbel-table, roofed with a low tiled roof, and lighted by a small window in each face. The apses are similar in style and detail to most of the early Spanish apses, having engaged shafts at intervals, richly wrought corbel-tables, and round-arched shafted windows. Both the transepts probably had flat gables, with single windows, like those in the apse, but the north transept has been destroyed for the erection of a steeple, which seems to have formed no part of the original plan. The most striking view of the church is from the north-west. The west front is quite unaltered, save by the addition of three little windows over the west door, and is a capital example of simple Romanesque. The gables are all of the same pitch, and the aisle walls are arcaded and pierced with windows above the cloister roofs. The cloister is a very rich composition, the shafts being coupled, with finely sculptured capitals, and the arches enriched with billet mouldings. The corbel-tables and cornices to these cloisters have evidently been carved at a date long after the original foundation of the church, the edge of the eaves-cornice being cut in a rich interlacing pattern of ivy-leaves, which cannot, I think, be earlier than from A.D. 1250 to 1270, and the heads, figures, and foliage on the corbels under it are all of the same character. There are fine north and south doors here, and there is a local peculiarity in their design which deserves notice. Their jambs consist of shafts set within very bold square recesses; and the number of orders in the arch is double that of those in the jamb, they being alternately carried on the capitals of the shafts, and upon the square order of the jambs. The effect is good, the bold spacing of the shafts, and the massiveness of the intermediate square jambs, tending to give that effect of solidity which these early Spanish architects never tired in their attempts to attain.

The interior of the church has been much modernised, but still enough remains to render the whole scheme intelligible. The arcades between the nave and aisles are all perfect; they are very plain, but spring from carved capitals of large size. The capitals of the nave arcades have their abaci planned with re-entering angles, so as exactly to fit the plan of the two square



SAN MILLAN, SEGOVIA

NORTH-WEST VIEW

orders of the archivolt. Some of the caps are of foliage only, others are *historiés*; one I remember having all round it the Adoration of the Magi, who are represented as large figures on horseback, and produce a most strange effect in such a place. The cross arches under the lantern are old, as also are those across the aisles, but the roof of the nave is now all under-drawn with plaster, and there are no means of telling precisely how it was originally covered; but, on the whole, I incline to the belief that it must have had a cylindrical vault, with quadrant vaults in the aisles, though it is possible, of course, that it had a flat wooden ceiling. The square piers in the nave favour this alternative, inasmuch as they seem to rise higher than they would have done had the roof been a stone vault. The pilasters against the aisle walls also run up to the level of the plate inside, and this (though it is modern) is higher than the springing of the nave arcades, and seems to prove that there have never been cross arches in the aisles. The external walls of the aisles above the cloister roofs are arcaded with plain arches between the pilasters, by which it is divided into bays, and the aisle windows are set within these arches. The lantern is modernised, but there still remain coupled cross ribs on its under side, and these, though they are plastered, being similar to those under the central vault of the Templars' Church, are probably original.

I wish much that I could put my hands on some documentary evidence which would fix the exact date of this very fine and interesting church (4), for, from its importance, it may be considered to be a leading example; and there is no doubt that it very largely influenced the other churches of this important city. It is possible, however, from the character of some of the detail, that part of it is older than the Templars' Church, consecrated, as we have seen, in A.D. 1208; though other parts of the detail—as, for instance, that of the external cornices—cannot be earlier than A.D. 1250-70. Before the last of these dates, therefore, I have no doubt the church was erected, though, as the arches are all, or nearly all, semi-circular, the greater part of the work was probably finished early in the century, if not in the twelfth century, and the decorations may have been completed afterwards.¹

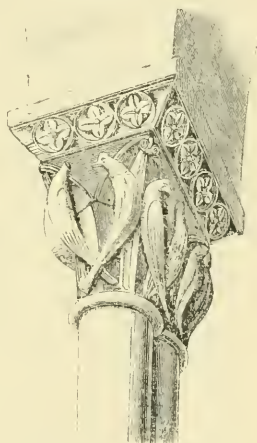
The non-introduction of pointed arches is certainly in favour of the earlier date, seeing that in the Templars' Church most

¹ San Millán is said to have been founded in A.D. 923, and similar early dates are given for Sta. Columba and San Esteban: none of them, I believe, retain any features of so great an antiquity.

of the main arches, rude as they are, are pointed; and were it not for the late character of some parts of San Millan, and looking only to the character of the plan and general design, I might have assumed its date to be about A.D. 1150. It is possible that the cloisters were added after the erection of the church.

The object of these external cloisters has been, I believe, matter of considerable discussion, yet I confess that they always seemed to me to be adopted mainly, if not solely, on account of the excessive heat in Spain in summer, and to be well worth our imitation when we have to erect churches in tropical climates. That they were confined very much to certain localities is perfectly true, but this is constantly the case, with local developments, in all parts of Europe; and here, no doubt, the idea once suggested by some early architect was frequently repeated by him, without taking the fancy of his brethren generally enough to make them repeat it elsewhere.

Another example of the same class, which in its original state must have been finer than San Millan, is to be seen in the church of San Martin. Here the cloister was carried not only along the sides, but across the west front also, with a bold projecting west porch, breaking its lines, and giving great character and dignity to the whole scheme. The west doorway of the porch has statues in its jambs, and the detail seems to me to be all genuine thirteenth-century work. The illustration of one of the cloister capitals will, I think, prove this; for though the old favourite device of couples of birds is repeated here, the lines are all extremely fine and graceful, and the carving of the abacus of an advanced kind. This church is, unfortunately, very much modernised throughout. It seems to have had three parallel apses at the east end, and transepts, against which the side cloisters of the nave were stopped. There is a modern lantern over the old crossing, and a tower to the west of it rising from out of the centre of the nave, which seems to be in part old.



CAPITAL IN CLOISTER, SAN MARTIN, SEGOVIA

There were northern and southern as well as western doors, and openings in the cloister opposite each of them (5).

San Roman (6), a desecrated church near the palace of the civil governor, has a short nave, chancel, and apse, with a tower on the south side of the chancel. The walls are very lofty, and are all finished with corbel-tables at the eaves. The apse has three round-headed windows, and there is a noble north door, similar in design to those of San Millan, and with the abaci and labels richly carved. The west end has a small doorway, and a circular window over it, the former certainly, and the latter probably, not original. The lower stage only of the tower remains. This church must be of about the same age as San Millan.

San Facundo is similar in plan to San Roman, and of the same date. The detail of the apse is precisely the same as that of San Millan. There is a large west door, modernised, and an open cloister seems to have been added at a later date to the side of the church, and is now walled up. This church is desecrated, and converted into a Museum of Paintings.

Santa Trinidad (7) has a fine apse, and this is again of the San Millan pattern. It has carved string-courses at the springing of the windows, and again just over their arches, and there are three-quarter engaged wall-shafts between the windows, and a richly sculptured eaves-cornice and corbel-table.

San Nicolas, close to Santa Trinidad, has two apses, each lighted with a single window, engaged wall-shafts, and the usual carved labels, abaci, and corbel-tables. The tower is on the north side, rises one stage above the roof, and is lighted with two round-arched belfry windows. A small apse was added rather later than the original fabric to the east of this tower, and before its erection the plan must have been almost the same as that of San Roman, but reversed. About a hundred yards from San Nicolas is another church which is almost an exact repetition of San Roman (8).

San Luine (?), in the Plazuela de Capuchinos, is of just the same class as the rest, with nave, chancel, and apse, and a second apse east of the tower on the south side. There are no side windows here, and only a single light at the east end (9).

Another church (10), in the Plaza de Isabel II., is of the same plan as the last, with a modernised tower. The carving on the string-courses here is of the same kind of natural foliage that I have described at San Millan.

Near the aqueduct are two churches (11). One of them,

S. Antholin (I think), has a tower at the north-east of the nave; its two upper stages have on each face two round-arched shafted windows, and the angles are treated in a precisely similar way to those of San Esteban, having bold splays with engaged shafts in their centres. Another church close to this is modernised, but retains its old tower, with the angles treated in the same way.

The church of San Juan (12) has remains of an external cloister on one side.

The last church of this long, and I fear very dry, catalogue, is that of San Miguel, which stands in the Plaza near the cathedral. It has four bays of nave, shallow transepts, and a very short choir, which is, I think, apsidal, but almost concealed by a pagan Retablo. The whole is of late fifteenth-century date, and must, I think, be the work of the same hand as the cathedral. Some figures at the west end, representing S. Michael and the Annunciation (13), have evidently been taken from some older building, and built into the walls here. There is a very beautiful triptych in the north transept, with a Descent from the Cross in the centre, which ought to be looked at. It is a fine work of, I suppose, the latter part of the sixteenth century.¹

I have already mentioned the great Alcazar, and the old town walls and gateways. They are magnificent in their scale, and very picturesque. The Alcazar was burnt some two or three years ago, and is now roofless, and I was told that its interior had been completely destroyed. I foolishly omitted to verify this statement by personal inspection, and contented myself with the sight of the exterior. The walls of the front towards the city are all diapered in plaster, and here and there about the town several other examples of the same kind of work are to be seen. The patterns are generally tracery patterns of the latest Gothic, repeated over and over again, so as to produce a regular diaper throughout. I presume that it was executed with a frame cut out to the required pattern, so as to allow of the ground being cut back slightly, leaving the pattern lines formed in the original face of the plaster. This kind of decoration seems to be perfectly legitimate, and here, owing to the care with which the plaster has been made and used, it has stood remarkably

¹ I did not see the church of San Lorenzo (14). It has three eastern apses, and an arcaded cloister on the western and southern sides, some of the arches being round and some pointed. The detail is all of the same kind as in other examples here, with much delicate imitation of natural foliage.—See illustration in *Monos. Argos. de España*.

well, though most of the patterns that I saw had evidently been executed in the fifteenth century.

In the front of the Alcazar these plaster patterns are carried not only all over the plain face of the walls, but also round the towers and turrets at the angles, so that the very smallest possible amount of wrought stone is introduced. The great tower or keep standing back a few feet only from the front is similarly ornamented, but has stone quoins bonded irregularly into the walls; in its upper stage it has windows surmounted by quaint stone canopies, and then a series of great circular turrets, corbelled boldly out from the face of the wall, and carried up a considerable height, give its extremely marked and Spanish air to this grand tower. These turrets are of stone, and between them is a parapet boldly corbelled out on machicoulis from the walls. With that contempt for uniformity which marks mediæval artists, the keep is more than twice as broad on one side as on the other, and the great mass of wall and turret, roofs and spirelets, which crowned the whole building before the fire, well sustained its picturesque irregularity of shape.

The front of a private house near the walls, not far from San Esteban, is another capital example of the same kind of plaster-work. Here the façade is a perfectly smooth and unbroken surface, pierced for doors and windows, which are set in square panels of stone, and with a regular and straight line of stone quoining at the angles. At one end a low tower is carried up a few feet above the general line of the building. The windows are generally mere plain square openings; but two set side by side in the principal stage have delicate *ajimez* windows of two lights, with elaborately traceried heads. The patterns in the plaster are three in number: the first carried from the stone plinth up to the sills of the principal windows, where it is cut by a narrow band of ornament, acting as a string-course to divide it from the second pattern, which is carried up to the eaves, the tower being covered with a third diaper, rather less intricate than the others.

Near this house is a tower in the walls even more worthy of notice. It is of very considerable height, quite plain in outline, and pierced with only one or two square-headed windows, but surmounted by a fine parapet supported on machicoulis. The whole tower is built with bold stone quoins and horizontal bands of brickwork, each band two courses in height, at intervals of about three feet. Between these bands the walls are plastered and diapered. Here, as in the other house, only two or three

patterns are used, but I think great judgment is shown in the repetition for the greater part of the height of the same pattern, which is changed at last near the top, where it was desirable to emphasise the work. Most men having three patterns to use would have divided them equally, but the real artist gives all their value to his simple materials by not doing so. The construction of this tower led naturally to its decoration. The wrought stone at the angles, the rough stonework of the walls, and the occasional bonding-courses of brick, were all used simply as the best materials for their respective parts; and the rough stonework being plastered and diapered gave a richness and polish to the whole work which it would otherwise have wanted, whilst it in no degree destroyed the air of stability of the wall, which is secured by the obviously constructional arrangement of the stone and brick.

The Moors were always distinguished by the beautiful use they made of plaster; and whether or no these Segovian buildings were executed by Moorish architects, it is quite certain that at any rate we owe them to their influence and example. The patterns used are generally such as in stonework would be unhesitatingly attributed to the end of the fifteenth or first half of the sixteenth century, and to this period no doubt the works I have been describing belong. They deserve a detailed notice because they prove, as do most Moorish works, that plaster may be used truthfully and artistically, and that without any approach to the contemptible effect which the imbecility and dishonesty of the nineteenth-century designers of plaster-work have contrived to impress on almost all their productions.

My last work in Segovia was to go to the Alcazar to get a sketch of the town, with the cathedral rising in a noble mass in its very centre, backed by the line of the Guadarrama mountains, looking black and angry with the storm-clouds which swept over the sky and around their summits at sunset; and then strolling quietly back into the town, I went into the cathedral, to be impressed, as one always must be in such a place, by the awful solemnity which even the latest Gothic architects in Spain knew how to impart to their buildings.

NOTES

(1) The keys of Vera Cruz are (or were) kept by the municipality in the centre of the town. El Parral has an appointed custodian, but as he does not always come down to the church, it is always well to inquire his intentions at the same place before setting out. The west door is now completely ruined, the interior unused.

(2) The Alcazar has been rebuilt, not without protest from Spaniards loth to exchange a superb ruin for a smug architect's toy.

(3) For this, as for the following churches, the dates are still to seek. Not long ago the tower of San Esteban was taken down, for the purpose of putting it up again; when that was nearly accomplished, a storm undid the work and it is still scaffolded up and the church all but demolished, and all but abandoned.

(4) So wishes Señor Lampérez. About the roof he agrees, citing the piers in proof. At present it has been restored with barrel-vaulting in the nave and quadripartite in the aisles, the apses scraped to the bone. There is a slight error in Street's plan,¹ for now the southernmost apse is wanting. The church contains a pleasant sixteenth-century retablo of the Crucifixion in a Roman landscape with ruins; the skies are Umbrian, but entirely Spanish the hands and face of the donor, a young monk.

(5) The vaulting of San Martin is at present fantastical, but Señor Lampérez believes it once had continuous parallel barrel-vaults that buttressed each other; the three aisles, being almost equal in breadth, and the three barrel-vaults equal in height, make the scheme unlike that at Châtillon-sur-Seine (Côte d'Or). It shelters still two beautiful painted retables, one, near the side entrance, of the Imposition of the Chasuble, the other, in a deep chapel on the north side, of a carved Way to Calvary, and wings painted with the Epiphany, saints, and donors—who are *not* the figures on the tombs in the centre. The dark recollected Madonna bends her lovely head gravely over the kneeling kings, and the composition, with streaks, and masses, and flecks of gold, is fairly orchestral.

(6) San Roman and San Facundo have been pulled down, the latter bequeathing its name to a square.

(7) The door has two shafts in the jambs, one with birds on the capitals, and fine bold moulding. The south cloister is now walled up.

(8) This I could not find.

(9) This is called San Quirse by the good local guide book of Señor Don Eugenio Colorado y Laca.

(10) This I believe to be San Andrés, and the Plaza is now called by its name.

(11) S. Just and S. Saviour.

(12) In 1910, when I was in Segovia, San Juan was occupied by a charming artist and gentleman, Señor Don Daniel Zuloaga, who makes tiles and other pottery there.

¹ Plate VIII., p. 179.

(13) S. Michael is in the centre. The other two figures are SS. Peter and Paul. The triptych I could not hear of.

(14) San Lorenzo is, on the outside, worth going to see, but the best of it is the suburb in which it stands, among overhanging houses of timber and plaster, like a little forgotten village.

To these churches may be added two more, one that of the Venerable Third Order of S. Francis, in the Plaza San Sebastian, which has only one apse, three very rich windows, now blocked up, half-columns and corbels, but no string courses at the east, a modern tower on the north side and a projecting west portal, with a string course carried around that above the single shafts in the jambs, and over the arch of the door, which wants a tympanum. At San Clemente in the lower town, the tower has been rebuilt of brick and a house comfortably established over the nave. The apse is arcaded on the outside; three bays of the south cloister persist, though built up.

La Granja I did not visit, because I waited for summer weather, and then the royal family was in residence. Excursion brakes meet the early train from Madrid at Segovia on Sundays and holidays, returning for the last train in the evening, so that the Park can be seen, I suppose, at all times, like Saint Cloud or Versailles.

CHAPTER X

MADRID—ALCALÁ—GUADALAJARA—SIGÜENZA

ON my first journey to Madrid I travelled most of the way from Valladolid by diligence, and though the way was long and weary, the passage of the Sierra de Guadarrama was very fine, and I remember few pictures more lovely than that which we saw at sunrise, as we climbed the northern side of the mountains amid groups of stone-pines: whilst the steep descent to the village of Guadarrama, on the south, with a slight distant view of Madrid, and a near view of the Escorial, was quite a thing to be remembered with pleasure. Now, however, instead of arriving at Madrid hot, dusty, and sore with a diligence journey, the railway is completed, and the line of country it takes is so beautiful between Avila and Madrid as to leave no room for regrets for the old passage of the mountains by road.

The entrance to Madrid is not very striking. For the last three or four miles the road passes by a fair amount of planted woods, but the river by its side is dry and dreary, and every one in the hot season at which I arrived seemed to be gasping for breath. A very small suburb only is passed before the Queen's palace is reached: this is built on the edge of a steep hill overhanging the river, and commands a grand view of the Sierra de Guadarrama. This is indeed the one and only glory of such a site as that of Madrid, for were it not for this distant view, I know nothing more dreary and unhappy than the country with which it is surrounded. At the same time, partly owing to the great height above the sea, and partly, probably, to the neighbourhood of this mountain range, the climate here is most treacherous, changing rapidly from the most violent heat in the daytime, to what seems by contrast to be icy chilliness at night.

A garden with statues is laid out in front of the palace, and beyond this, passing some narrow streets, one soon reaches the Puerta del Sol, a fine irregular space in the centre of the city, with a fountain in the centre which is always playing pleasantly, and on great occasions sends up a jet to an unusual height. The Puerta del Sol is very irregular, and on sloping ground, and

hence it has a certain pleasing picturesqueness, which probably accounts for the reputation it has achieved.

There is one great attraction to me in Madrid, and only one—the Picture Gallery. And it is as well for travellers to take up their quarters in one of the hotels near the Puerta del Sol, where they are within a walk of it, rather than in the respectable Fonda de Ynglaterra, where I found myself quite too far from everything that I wanted to see.

I discovered no old churches here. Madrid is, in fact, a thoroughly modern city, and is remarkable as not being the see of a bishop, the Archbishops of Toledo having succeeded in retaining it in their diocese.

I found, therefore, nothing whatever to do in the way of ecclesiologising; and yet, on the whole, having formed a very low estimate of the place beforehand, I was rather agreeably disappointed. The situation is unquestionably fine, the views of the mountains beautiful, the streets busy and smart, and the fountains, which seem to be innumerable, are on a scale which would astonish our London authorities. The evenings are always deliciously cool, and then all Madrid is on the move; the very well laid out and planted Prado is thronged with smart people on foot, and smarter people in carriages; and until one has suffered as one does from the extreme heat of the day, it is hardly possible to imagine the luxurious freshness of the cool night. It is said, however, to be a dangerous pleasure, pulmonary complaints being very common.

The two great sights are the Museo and the Armeria; the latter is said to be the best collection of arms in Europe, but somehow I always managed to want to go there too early or too late, and, after divers mistakes, in the end did not see it at all. Of the Museo it is difficult to speak with too much enthusiasm: the number of pictures is enormous, and it seemed to me that there was a larger proportion than is usual of very first-rate works. Its deficiency is mainly in early pictures—Italian, German, and Spanish. The early Italian schools are represented by one Angelico da Fiesole only: this is a beautiful example; an Annunciation, with the expulsion of Adam and Eve from Eden on the left of the picture, and five subjects from the life of the Blessed Virgin in the predella. Among these, the Marriage of the Blessed Virgin has a close resemblance to Perugino's and Raffaello's celebrated pictures. I could see no examples of Francia or Perugino, not to speak of earlier men; whilst the few early German works were none of them of any great interest.

On the other hand, the pictures by Titian, Velasquez, Raffaele, Veronese, Tintoret, Murillo, and others of the great masters of their age, are numerous and magnificent beyond description.

Velasquez and Titian are both so grand that I hardly knew which to admire the most; of the former, perhaps on the whole the most charming work is the portrait of Prince Balthazar, a noble boy, galloping forward gallantly on his pony; whilst of the Titians, I think the most striking was a weird-looking portrait of Charles V. in armour on horseback. Murillo of course is in great force; he has frequent representations of the Assumption, always treated in the same way: his work has a religious spirit wanting in the manlier work of Titian and Veronese, but yet not the true religious spirit so much as a sentimental affectation of it. Of Ribera—better known in England as Spagnoletto—there are a great many examples, generally disagreeable portraits of emaciated saints in distorted attitudes, and a horrible elaboration of ghastliness. Juan Juanes, an earlier Spanish painter, is much more agreeable, and he seems to have been largely inspired by Perugino and his school; a series of five subjects from the life of S. Stephen are perhaps the most interesting of his works here.

The room in which the greatest treasures of the Gallery are collected is called the Salon de la Reyna Isabel. Unfortunately a large opening in the floor, to give light to a gallery of sculpture below, makes it a little difficult to see some of the pictures at all well. At its upper end is the famous Spasimo de Sicilia, a noble work, but spoilt by the awkward and distorted drawing of the soldiers on the left. Near it is a very fine Giovanni Bellini, the Delivery of the Keys to S. Peter; and by its side a Giorgione, with a man in armour, as fine as anything I know—the subject, the Virgin and Saints. By Bronzino there is a violin-player, a lad with a face beyond measure lovable. But it were endless to go on through a list even of the *chefs-d'œuvre* in such a collection; and it is the less necessary to say much more than generally to praise the whole Gallery as one of the first, if not the first, in Europe, because, now that railways make the journey thither so much more easy, some, no doubt, of our thousands of annual travellers will make their way to Madrid, to make lists for themselves of the best of its pictures (1).

There is as little interest in modern as in earlier architecture here; the only development that struck me being a fashion the people have of diapering houses all over with a kind of thirteenth-century painting on plaster; but I was not struck with

the beauty of the development. The best street is the Calle de Alcalá, leading from the Puerta del Sol to the Prado. It is of great width, rising from the Puerta del Sol and falling to the Prado, and not straight, all which points are much in its favour: but the houses on either side are not generally so fine as they should be, and there is consequently a slightly faded look about it, which is not otherwise characteristic of Madrid. To see the Calle de Alcalá to advantage, the day of a bull-fight should be selected. Then from half-past three to four all the world streams along it to the arena, excited, running, pushing, buying red and yellow paper fans for the seats in the sun, and as noisy, boisterous, and enthusiastic as all the world at any of our own national gatherings. The *picadors* in their quaint dresses come galloping along on their sorry steeds, each attended by a man in a blouse riding on the same horse, and whose office it is afterwards to make the poor wretch face the bull by beating him with a long stick. Omnibuses and vehicles of all kinds bring their share of the mob; and when I took my seat, I believe there were not less than twelve thousand people assembled, every seat in the rather shabby but vast arena being full. Women formed a very small proportion only of the whole number, and I noticed that a lady who sat near me seemed as much shocked as I was at the brutal parts of the exhibition; for all parts of it are by no means brutal, and, indeed, I should be inclined to limit the term to those parts in which horses are introduced. It would be quite as pleasant to indulge oneself by an occasional visit to a knacker's yard, as to sit quietly looking on whilst a furious bull rips up a miserable beast, usually blindfolded, in order that it may not move from the spot at which the *picador* chooses to receive the attack; but this part of the performance over, there is little that is disgusting, and a great deal that is singularly exciting and skilful. The men seldom seem to be in any real danger of being caught by the bull, and nothing can be cleverer than the way in which one of the *chulos* will dance before him half across the arena, always avoiding his charge by a hair's-breadth only, or in which one of the *banderilleros*, seated in a chair, will plant his two arrows exactly on each side of the bull just as he stoops to toss him, and the next instant jump out of his seat, whilst the chair is dashed to atoms by the furious beast.

I felt, however, that one bull-fight was enough for me; the treatment of each bull is of necessity the same, and the mules have no sooner galloped out of one door trailing the dead bull

and his victims out of the arena, than another dashes in from the opposite side, only to meet the same fate. The way in which the bulls come in is very striking: they rush in madly like wild beasts, and generally charge rapidly at one of the *picadors* or *chulos*. I asked a Spaniard how this was managed, and he explained that in the den from which they emerge they are goaded with sharp-pointed spears just before the doors are opened, and of course come into the arena mad with rage!

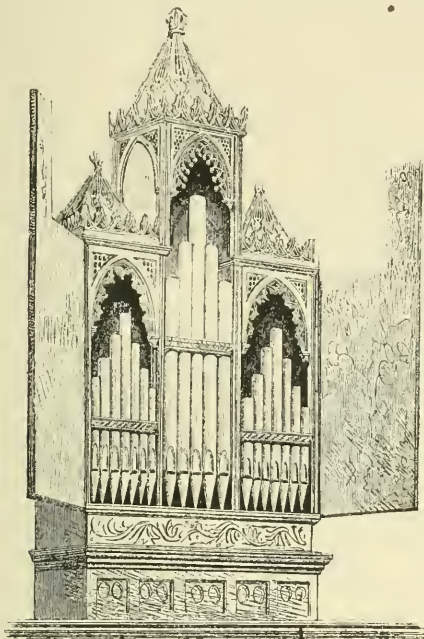
The object of bull-fights seems to be generally charitable—in the sense that charity bazaars are so. At Valencia, where they have recently erected an arena which almost rivals in size the Roman amphitheatres, the work has been done by the trustees of the hospitals, and this seemed to be usually the destination of the receipts whenever I saw them advertised. That it is possible to have a bull-fight of even a worse kind than the Spanish I learnt at Nîmes, where the cicerone showing me the amphitheatre explained that they had a bull-fight every Sunday, but never killed their bulls—only goaded them week after week!

Whilst I was at Madrid I made an excursion to Alcalá de Henares, the seat of Cardinal Ximenes' famous university, under the impression that I should find a good deal to reward me. In this, however, I was disappointed, as the churches are mostly works of the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, and the whole place is decayed, unprosperous, and uncared for, without being picturesque and venerable.

The principal church, "El Magistral," of SS. Just y Pastor—the tutelars of the city—is a large, late church of poor style. It has a nave and aisles of five bays, transepts and choir of one bay, and an apse of three sides. The aisle round the apse is contrived with three square bays and four triangular, and is evidently founded on the beautiful plan of the chevet of Toledo cathedral; but I must say that Pedro Gumiel "el Honrado," Rector of Alcalá, and architect of this church, has perfectly succeeded in avoiding any repetition of the beauties of Toledo; his work being thoroughly uninteresting and poor. The three western bays of the nave are open; the two eastern enclosed with screens and stalled for the Coro. A bronze railing under the Crossing connects the Coro with the Capilla mayor. There are no less than six pulpits here! two at the entrance to the choir for the Epistoler and Gospeller, two on the west of the Crossing, and two more opposite each other against the second column from the west in the nave. It looks just as though they had ordered a pair of pulpits as they did a pair of organs; and as

preaching does not seem to be much the fashion now in Spain, I had no opportunity of learning how these many pulpits were to be used. There are two organs, one on each side over the Coro; that on the south so picturesque as to be worthy of illustration.

Two great monuments—one in the nave, and one under the Crossing—are remarkable for the position of the effigies with their



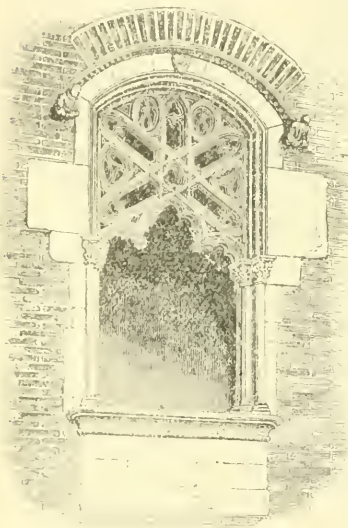
ORGAN, ALCALÁ

feet to the west. On the south side of the south transept is a small chapel roofed with a most rich and delicate Moorish plaster ceiling; the whole was richly coloured. It did not appear to be earlier than the church, which is said to have been constructed between the years 1497 and 1509 (2).

The University founded by Ximenes is in a wretched state of dilapidation; it is said to have been designed by the same Pedro Gumiel who built SS. Just y Pastor, but the work, so far as I saw it, was all Renaissance. The façade and court behind it were

the work of Rodrigo Gil de Hontañon, between A.D. 1550 and 1553, and he destroyed Pedro Gumiel's work in order to erect it. By the side of the college stands the church of San Ildefonso, which I suppose must be the chapel built by Pedro Gumiel. It is, I believe, desecrated, and no one could tell me where the key was to be found, so that I was unable to do more than get a note of the curious Cimborio from the exterior. It is not a lantern, but rather a raising of the whole centre (3) of the church above the remainder. It is constructed of brick and stone, and is evidently of late date. Under this Cimborio, I believe, is the monument of the great Cardinal.

There are considerable remains of the old walls, with circular towers rather closely set around them. The bishop's palace (4) retains a fine tower, which seems to have been connected with the town walls. It is plain below, but has turrets picturesquely corbelled out on machicoulis over the centre of each side and at each angle. A wing of the palace which joins this tower has some very remarkable domestic windows, which deserve illustration. The shafts are of marble, the tracery and the wall below the sill of stone, but the wall of brick. The shafts are set behind each other, there is a good ball-flower enrichment in the label, and the mouldings are rich and good of their kind. Such a window seems



DOMESTIC WINDOW, ALCALA

to unite the characteristics of two or three countries, and is, indeed, in this, an epitome of Spanish art, which borrowed freely from other lands, and often imported foreign architects, yet, in spite of all this, is still almost always national in its character.

It is an easy journey from Alcalá to Guadalajara; and though the latter place disappointed me much, it is still worthy of a few hours' delay to those who pass by it on the Madrid and Zaragoza railway. Seen from the distance it is an imposing city,

and if it be seen as I saw it during fair time, full of peasants in gay costume, the general impression may be not unpleasant; but unfortunately, the early architectural remains are few and generally insignificant.

The church of Sta. Maria is the subject of a picturesque view in Villa Amil's book, and he deserves great praise for the skill with which he has created something out of nothing. I could find no feature worth recording save its two Moresque doorways, in one of which—that at the west end—the arch is of the pointed horseshoe form, and the archivolt is built of bricks, some of which are set forward from the face of the wall in the fashion of the rustic work in the execution of which certain schools of architects everywhere seem to take a grave pleasure, of which, perhaps, it would be unkind to wish to deprive them (5).

The church of San Miguel has a portion of the exterior built in a rich nondescript style—debased Moresque is, perhaps, the right term for it—in the year 1540, as an inscription on the church records. The lower part of the only original portion remaining is built of rough stone, the upper of brick; and it is argued by some, I believe, that the use of the two materials proves that the work was executed at different epochs. To me it seemed that the whole was uniform in style, and evidently the work of the sixteenth-century builders (6). It has large circular projections at the angles, which are finished with fantastic cappings, and sham machicoulis below the ponderous overhanging cornices which ornament the walls both at the end and sides. These cornices have deep brick consoles at intervals, the spaces between them filled with crosses on panels of terracotta. The rest of the church seems to be modernised. Both here and at Sta. Maria there are external cloister passages outside the church walls, modern in style and date, but similar in object to those of Segovia and Valladolid already described. Another little church, called La Antigua, has an eastern apse of brick and stone, with (7) window openings of many cusps formed very simply with bricks of various lengths. This work is similar to much of the Moresque work at Toledo, and it is rather remarkable how continuous the line of Moresque buildings from Toledo to Zaragoza seems to be.

I saw no other old church here; but the very fine late Gothic palace del Infantado is well worth a visit. It is like so much Spanish work, a strange jumble of Gothic and Pagan, slightly dashed perhaps with Moorish sentiment, and with the somewhat strange feature that the most Gothic portion is above, and

the most Pagan below. The façade has a rich late Gothic doorway, and the face of the wall is diapered all over with what look like pointed nail-heads. The two lower stages have windows of the commonest type, with pediments, whilst the upper stage has a rich open arcade (8), every third division of which has a picturesque projecting oriel, boldly corbelled forward from the face of the wall. Some Pagan windows have evidently been inserted here; and it is possible that some of the other details have been, but if so the work has been done so neatly that it is difficult to detect the alteration. The courtyard or *patio* has seven open divisions on two sides, and five divisions on the others, and is of two stages in height. The lower range of columns has evidently been modernised, but in the upper they are very richly carved and twisted. The arches are ogee trefoils cusped, and their spandrels are clumsily filled with enormous lions cut in deep relief, and boldly standing on nothing, whilst they manage to hold up a diminutive coat of arms as a sort of finial to the arch. In the upper arcades griffins take the place of the lions, and the arches are again richly cusped. I noticed the date of A.D. 1570 on the capital of one of the columns, but this I have no doubt was the date of the Pagan alterations, and not that of the original fabric, which is said to have been erected in the year 1461.¹

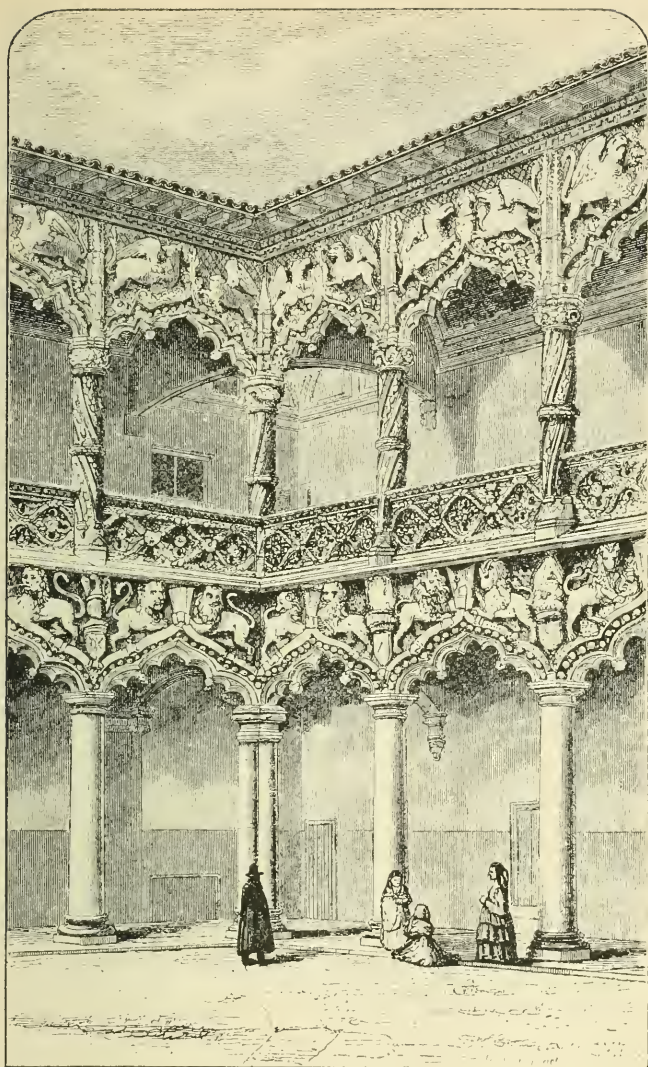
The Dukes del Infantado had a grand palace in this building, and though it has long been neglected and disused, it seems as if it were again about to be occupied, as I found workmen busily engaged in a sort of restoration of the sculptures in the *patio*, which they were repairing, if I remember right, with plaster.

The sight of a river is always pleasant in this part of Spain, and so, though there is not much water in the Heranes, I looked gratefully at it, and at the trees growing by its banks, as I sauntered down to the railway station after a rather weary day spent in vainly trying to find enough to occupy my time and my pencil (9).

A railway journey of two or three hours carries one hence to a far pleasanter and more profitable city, Sigüenza, whose cathedral is of first-rate interest, and, generally speaking, well preserved. It is, like so many of the Spanish churches, unusually complete in its dependent buildings; and though these sometimes obscure parts of the building which one would like to examine, they always add greatly to the general interest. The plan² here consists of a nave and aisles of only four bays in

¹ The illustration of this courtyard is engraved from a photograph.

² See ground-plan, Plate XIII., p. 296.



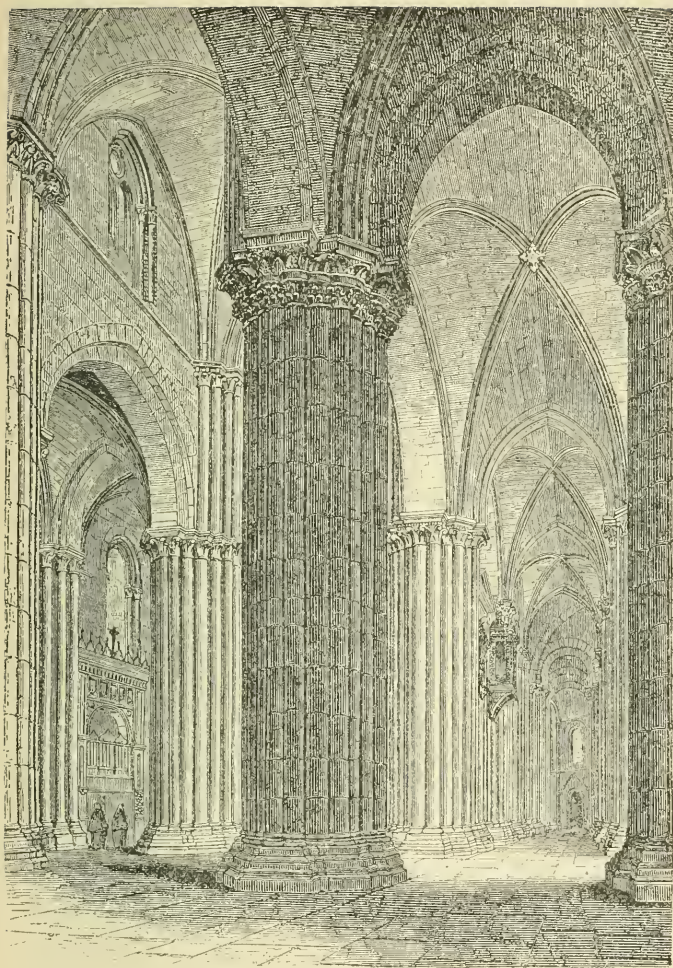
GUADALAJARA
PALACE OF THE DUKE DEL INFANTADO

length, but the dimensions are so considerable that the interior does not look short. Two western towers are placed at the angles, touching the main walls only at one corner, and giving consequently great breadth to the façade. There are transepts and an apsidal choir, with an aisle, or procession-path—and no chapels—all round it. The choir is old, the procession-path of Renaissance character, and it is clear that when first built this church had no choir-aisle with surrounding chapels, and it was, I have no doubt, terminated in the usual early Spanish fashion with three eastern apsidal chapels (10).

I have not met with any notice of the foundation of this church, save that given by Gil Gonzalez Dávila.¹ He says that the king Don Alonso, after having gained Toledo from the Moors, and appointed Bernardo archbishop, took Sigüenza, Almazan, Medina Celi, and other places of importance. He then restored the cathedral here, which was dedicated on June 19th, 1102, and appointed as first bishop Don Bernardo, a Benedictine monk, who had taken the habit of Cluny, and who was a native of France. The Archbishop of Toledo was his patron, and he was one of the many French bishops appointed at this time to Spanish sees through his great influence. The epitaph of D. Bernardo, given by Dávila, records that he rebuilt this church, and consecrated it on the day of S. Stephen in the year 1123. This inscription, however, is not of much value, as it was written after the translation of the bishop's body in 1598. The second bishop was also a Frenchman, and a native of Poitiers.

A very small portion—if indeed any—of the work of the first bishop now remains. There is one fragment of early Romanesque work to the east of the cloister, which no doubt formed part of it; and it is just possible that the three enormous cylindrical columns, which still remain in the nave, are of the same age. If this be so, I should be inclined to assume that the choir only was consecrated in A.D. 1123, and that the nave was commenced and carried on very slowly, until, as the style developed, the simple cylindrical columns were abandoned for the fine groups of clustered shafts which are elsewhere used. The general style of the church is a very grand and vigorous first-pointed, early in the style, but still not at all Romanesque in character; and I know few interiors which have impressed me more with their extreme grandeur and stability than this. The truth is, that the somewhat excessive solidity of the work—as heavy and ponderous in substance as the grandest Romanesque—

¹ *Teatro Eccl.* i. 131-148.



SIGÜENZA CATHEDRAL

INTERIOR OF NAVE AND AISLES, LOOKING NORTH-EAST

is singularly noble when combined as it is here with very considerable height in the columns and walls, and with fine pointed arches, early traceried windows, and good sculpture. Unfortunately this massive grandeur is only a matter of envy to a wretched architect in the nineteenth century, whose main triumph, if he would prosper, must be to use as few bricks and as small fragments of stone as he can, to the intent that his work should certainly be cheap, and in forgetfulness, if possible, that it will also certainly be bad! Here, however, the architect wrought for eternity as far as was possible, and with a success which admits of no doubt and no cavil. He has been singularly fortunate, too, in the comparative freedom from subsequent alterations which his work has enjoyed. The Renaissance procession-path round the choir, which is the most important addition, certainly spoils the external effect; but it is hardly noticed in the interior, until you find yourself under its heavy and tame panelled roof, and outside the solid wall which still encircles the ancient apse.

The groining of the choir and transepts is sexpartite, but everywhere else it is quadripartite; and the ribs, which are very bold in their dimensions, are generally moulded, but over the crossing are enriched with the dog-tooth ornament. The same decoration is also carved on the clerestory windows of the choir and transepts.

The original windows generally still remain. Those in the aisles are single round-headed lights of grand size, with double engaged shafts, both inside and outside: those in the clerestory are of more advanced character, some being of two and some of four lights, of the best early plate tracery, with pointed enclosing arches. The western bay of the choir has lancet clerestory windows, and the apse of seven sides has also a lancet in each face, with a sort of triforium below, which is now closed, but which before the addition of the procession-path was probably pierced. Below this quasi-triforium the wall of the apse is circular in plan, whilst above it is polygonal, and the difference shows the very gradual way in which the building was erected, one of the most usual points of distinction between the Romanesque and the early-pointed planning of an apse being that in the former it is circular, and in the latter polygonal.

In speaking of the windows, I have omitted to mention the finest, which are undoubtedly the roses in the principal gables. That in the south transept is one of the finest I know;¹ and

¹ See an illustration of this window on the ground-plan of Sigüenza Cathedral, Plate XIII., p. 296.

whilst it is remarkable for the vigorous character of its design it is also to be noted for a peculiarity which I have before observed in early Spanish traceries. This is the mode in which the traceries are, as it were, packed against each other. It is especially noticeable in the outer line of circles which are inserted like so many wheels abutting against each other, and without the continuous central moulding to which we are generally accustomed. Here, as well as in the interior, the dog-tooth ornament is freely used; and the outer mouldings of the circle are of good character.

The exterior of this church is of as great interest as the interior. The two western steeples are of the very plainest possible character, pierced merely with narrow slits, which light the small chambers in the interior of the tower.

The buttresses are of enormous size; and in the angles between them and the walls are set engaged shafts, which run up to and finish under the arcaded eaves-cornices with which the walls are finished under the roof. At the west end these shafts are carried up to a greater height, and support three bold arches, one in each division of the façade, corresponding in height pretty nearly with the groining inside. I find, on looking at my notes on this church, that I observed upon this as a feature which I recollected at Notre Dame, Poitiers; and there is some significance, therefore, in the record of the fact that the second bishop, in whose time probably this part of the church was built, was a native of that city.

The western door is round-arched, but the cornice over it has been destroyed; and the finish of the buttresses and whole upper part of the west front have been modernised. The transept doors are not old, but seem to be in their old places, placed close to the western side, so as not to interfere with the placing of an altar against the eastern wall. At Tudela cathedral the old doorways still remain just in the same place; and viewed in regard to convenience, and not with a view to making the most important and regular architectural elevation, there is no doubt as to the advantage of the plan.

In addition to the two western steeples there is also one of more modern erection and smaller dimensions on the east side of the south transept. The other late additions to the church are some chapels on the south side of the choir, a grand sacristy on its north side, some small chapels between the buttresses on the north side, and the Parroquia of San Pedro, running north and south, near the west end. This and the chapel on the south side

of the choir are of late Gothic date, and of very uninteresting character. Indeed it is remarkable how little the work of the later Spanish architects ordinarily has in it that is of much real value. The early works always have something of that air of mystery and sublimity which is the true mark of all good architecture, whilst the later have generally too much evidence of being mere professional cut-and-dried works, lifeless and tame, like the large majority of the works to which a vicious system of practice has reduced us at the present day.

The cloister, to which also the same remark will apply, was finished in A.D. 1507 by Cardinal Mendoza, as we learn from an inscription in Roman letters with a Renaissance frame round them, which is let into the wall on the south side;¹ and I noticed that the very florid early Renaissance altar-tomb and door to the cloister, which fills a great part of the inside of the north transept, is inscribed to the memory of the same cardinal.²

The buildings round the cloister are not remarkable. The summer Chapter-house is of grand size, with a rather good flat painted ceiling, and pictures of the Sibyls against the walls. At the south end is a chapel with an altar, divided by an iron Reja from the Chapter-room.

A Renaissance doorway to another room on the east side of the cloister has the inscription, *Musis . sacra . domus . hec*, and leads to the practising-room for the choir.

The ritual arrangements here are of the usual kind. The bishop's stall is in the centre of the west end, and was made for its place; but the whole of the woodwork is of the latest Gothic, and proves nothing as to the primitive arrangement. Gil Gonzalez Dávila³ gives an inscription from the tomb of Simon de Cisneros, who died in 1326, and who is there said to be the bishop: "*Qui hanc ecclesiam autoritate apostolica ex regulari in secularem reduxit ac multis ædificiis exornavit.*" I hardly know what buildings still remaining can be exactly of this date; but it is evident that the statement refers to subordinate buildings, and not to the main fabric of the church.

The people of Sigüenza seem to be more successful than is usual in Spain in the cultivation of green things. The cloister

¹ Hoc, claustrum, a. fundamentis, fieri, mandavit. Reverendissimus Dominus, B. Carvaial, Car. S. +, in, Jerusalem, patriarcha. Ierosolimitan, episcopus, Tusculan, Antistes, hujus, alme, basilice, quod, completum, fuit, de, mense, Novembris, anno, Salutis, M.C.C.C.C.V.II, procurante. D. Serano. Abbate, S. Columbe, ejusdem, ecclesie, operario.

² B: Carvaial: Car: S: +: eps: Saguntin:

³ *Teatro Eccl.* i. 161.

garden is prettily planted, and has the usual fountain in the centre. There is a grove of trees in the Plaza, on the south side of the church; and a public garden to the north is really kept in very fair order, and looks pleasantly shady.

I saw no other old building (11) here except a castle on the hill above the town, with square towers projecting at intervals from the outer wall; but it seemed to have been much modernised, and I did not go into it (12).

NOTES

(1) Neither Goya nor Greco is fairly represented at the Prado, and early Spanish painting is simply not there. The directors are not likely to supply the want before the pieces they ought to possess shall be sold out of Spain.

(2) The money for the church of SS. Just and Pastor was supplied by Cardinal Ximénès, who raised it to the rank of a collegiate church, and provided that all the prebends should be doctors—whence the title, *el Magistral*. The work was begun at the west; in 1500 the houses were not yet bought where the Capilla Mayor was to go. The transept in height is half way between the aisles and the nave—an unhappy arrangement and one reason why the fabric is now threatened and under restoration. The tomb of the great cardinal, by Domenico Fancelli and Bartolomé Ordoñez, stands under the crossing, boarded up in a sort of wooden hut against danger during the works; so far as I could make out, crawling round it with a candle-end, it is of the familiar type, with griffins at the corners and the four doctors above; if softer and less Italian-pure than that of the Infante Don Juan at Avila, yet apter to the material, more chaste, so to speak, than that of Archbishop Juan de Tavera at Toledo, where the marble is cut like butter. The other tomb is that of Bishop Carilleno.

(3) The whole east end, rather. The chapel and ante-chapel, now in use as a parish church, are all Mudejar work and contain the wrecks of two superb artesonado ceilings and delicate stucco traceries on the walls that cling to Gothic forms, while the sap of the Renaissance runs through them. The university, sordid and wretched enough, is in use as a school by the *Padres Escolapias*, who in 1809 restored very tawdrily the great hall or paranymp, constructed in 1517-20 by Gutierre de Cardenas, "officer of construction in plaster and cutter with the knife," assisted by Pedro Izquierdo, Bartolomé de Aguilar, Andrés de Zamora, and Hernando de Sagahun. The small boys of the town have not heard of the university.

(4) The bishop's palace dates mostly from the middle of the sixteenth century, and owes its splendours to Fonseca and Tavera. The council hall, built 1333-1400, has been restored more shamelessly than usual, with one alcove copied from Cordova, another from Granada, etc.—as the guide will tell you with unfeigned pride.

(5) Santa Maria de la Fuente, sixteenth century, was locked up

at a reasonably early hour on Sunday morning, and I did not disturb it. The porch, carried on Renaissance columns, with the Ionic volutes, seemed to me pure and lovely.

(6) San Miguel del Monte, rebuilt 1520, has all disappeared except the chapel of red brick in a sort of Renaissance Mudejar style. This communicated with the church below the choir, and is decorated in the style of Raphael's Loggie.

(7) There are three such. La Antigua has been completely rebuilt with a new apse at the opposite end, and the ancient image, its titular, repainted; but it retains yet a large retable of the Madonna and Child, adored by a donatrix with the attributes of S. Anne, which looks Navarrese with a dash of the North Italian, and which I gathered that the *Cura* would probably sell if an offer took his fancy. It is not only interesting, it is beautiful, and infinitely to be desired.

(8) The arcade is now blocked and sash windows inserted *à volonté*. The building has become an asylum for orphans of the wars in the Peninsula and over-sea, and the good sisters in charge are very kind in taking visitors about. The ceilings are magnificent.

(9) Travellers who have come to terms with the Spanish Renaissance will find pleasure in the Convento de la Piedad y Colegio de Doncellas, founded with a licence from Clement VII., 1524, and finished about 1530, by Doña Brianda de Mendoza y Luna, to bring damsels up in honesty and good manners. The Duques del Infantado were its patrons and five of its inmates were to be of their lineage. The other fifteen had to bring five thousand maravedis apiece for dower. The church, though ruined, has a fine side portal and the adjoining palace a fine patio, rather austere for the period. Across the street from this the convent of S. Clare the Royal (of the fifteenth century, I should say) has some fair tombs in the church, among them one of Doña Maria Coronal, the widow of Don John de la Cerda. Her history, more edifying than decent, may be read in *España*: in brief, she was one of those who, as the Apostle said, are widows indeed.

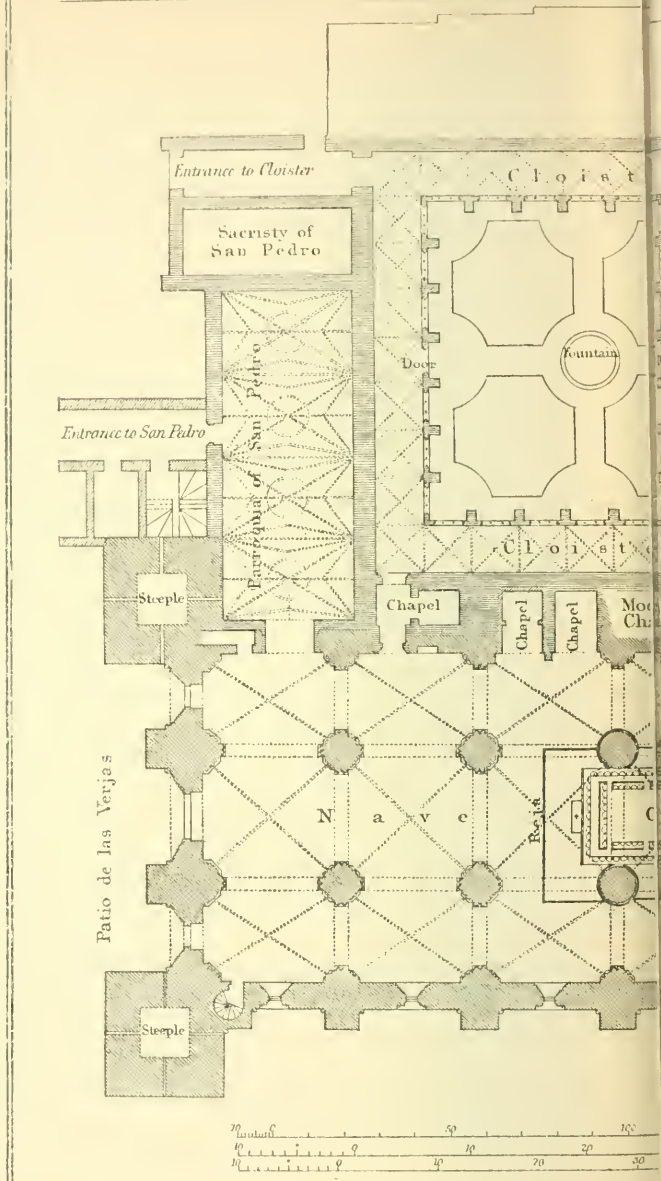
(10) Sigüenza was planned for five apses in the Poitevin style. Bernard of Agen in 1124 set about the work, but it was barely begun before the time of Peter de Lencata of Narbonne, 1152-56, and continued by his successor, Cerebruno of Poitiers; opened to worship 1169. In the years 1150 to 1185 building went as far as the whole east end, the transepts, and the bases in the nave. In 1192, Rodrigo was about the nave; 1293 closed in the vaults of the transept. These and that of the apse fell in the fifteenth century and were remade in the time of Cardinal Mendoza, 1468-95. Ventura Rodriguez built the ambulatory in the eighteenth century. A nave chapel has a fine painted altar-piece of SS. Catharine and Augustine of about 1500; a superb plateresque shrine of Santa Liberada fills in the wall space in the north transept with a doorway and a tomb in the same style, and the little chapel of S. Catharine, out of the south transept, hides, besides tombs, an altar-piece patched up out of some three, two of which were good. The Retablo Mayor is fine metal, brass and bronze; no more can be said for it. On the other hand, against the reja, east of the *coro*, visible only from within, hangs a

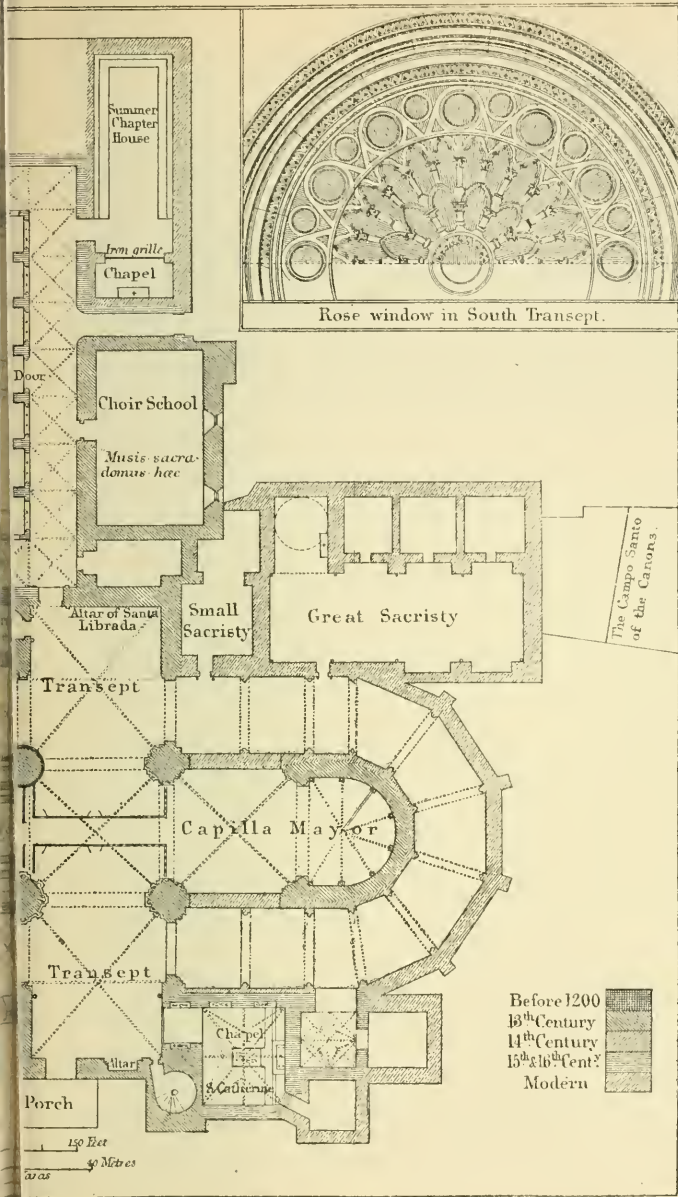
beautiful Sienese Madonna. The glass in the ambulatory is dark and splendid.

(11) Two other churches have the same sort of door, and a good deal of interest inside, San Vicente and Santiago. The latter contains the alabaster tomb of an ecclesiastic in a cap, with beautiful Spanish hands, dated 1530. Santiago has also a fine pointed arch to the choir, with late Romanesque capitals and abacus, three shafts in the corners and two round-headed windows of two shafts and four orders. San Vicente, of the same type, has early Gothic capitals, strong leaves, strongly curling. *Nuestra Señora de las Huertas*, or *del Campo-Santo Vejo*, is said to be a foundation of the twelfth century and to have preserved a Virgin in the tympanum of the main door; but it was restored in the fifteenth in the flamboyant style, and again in the sixteenth in the plateresque, and I did not go out of my way to inspect it in the rain. From a distance it looked not unpleasing—late Gothic, set among green trees by the waterside. The town is picturesque, tempting to sketch or photograph, and the inn at the station is both clean and quiet.

(12) Between Sigüenza and Zaragoza lies much to lure the wayfarer, not only Calatayud with a school of brick building, and beyond that Darocca, on the south; and the branch line which runs up to Soria, on the north; but directly on the main line, three Cistercian abbeys for those who love the delicate *ascēsis* of Cistercian architecture, its cool, pure austerity like the white light before sunrise. These are Piedra (for which the station is Alhama), Rueda, and Santa Maria de Huerta (1162). At Piedra (1195-1218) little is left since the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries worked their wills, but the chapter house keeps its beautiful windows under a pointed arch on coupled shafts, with a cusped sexfoil in the tympanum and French early leafage on the capitals. The great reliquary from Piedra has been since 1852 in the Historical Museum in Madrid. Given by Abbot Martin de Ponce to serve as the tabernacle for a miraculous host, it was made perhaps near Zaragoza, under the influence of Mudejar artisans. The cornice is of Moorish honeycomb work, and the upper part of the doors of an artesonado pattern. Christ and the twelve apostles are ranged above; inside, seven niches, cusped in cinquefoils a trifle drawn in at the base, once held statues; and the patterns below are like those on Romanesque capitals. Upon the door inside eight angels make music, standing on tiles in right Spanish fashion. Their instruments may be described roughly as organ, viol, harp, zither, lute, viol-da-gamba, hurdy-gurdy, and guitar with curved neck played with plectrum. On the other side, twelve scenes are set under arches—on the left door those from the Golden Gate to the Nativity of Christ; on the right from the Agony in the Garden to the Deposition—with smaller figures and angels in the spandrels. "The painter knew Sienese art from afar and by indirect ways," says M. Bertaux. But Sienese art is in the draperies, the line, and the iconography, and the working out is native. The faces are Spanish and so are Pilate's hands; the Hill of Golgotha is set with fair flowers, the chambers have artesonado ceilings. Much is imperfect and naïve, and thereby the more engaging: you can see where the artist follows his copy and where his own invention

SIGUANZA: Ground Plan of the Cathedral





travails. Certainly in the Annunciation, and perhaps everywhere, his model was octagonal in shape, and the adaptations are rather ingenious. But to return to the railway.

Rueda, now a farm, was founded in 1200, and I believe is worth visiting. Santa Maria de Huerta keeps the strong Cistercian forms under a churrigueresque overlay, and boasts the finest refectory in Spain (1215), two cloisters, and many of the monastic buildings. Soria can be reached most easily by train if you change at Toralba, but my idea, prevented by unseasonable rains, was to come down by diligence from Castejon and Calahorra across the mountains after visiting at Fitero (which also enjoys a daily diligence to Castejon) the remains of a Cistercian abbey—a church, cloister, and chapter house of 1152-1287. At Soria San Juan de Duero has no history, but, it would seem, much beauty. On the portal of Santo Tomé the little figures of the archivolt are arranged to radiate as at Toro and in Galicia. This, so far as I know, is the farthest east that one can find the curious device.

CHAPTER XI

TOLEDO

TOLEDO is now extremely easy of access from Madrid, a branch from the main line of the Alicante railway turning off at Castellejon, and reducing the journey to one of about two or three hours only from the capital. Of old the road passed through Illescas (1), and the picturesque church there, illustrated by Villa Amil, made me regret that the less interesting railroad rendered the journey by road out of the question.

The country traversed by the railway is very uninteresting, and generally looks parched and arid to a degree. Near Aranjuez the waters of the Tagus have been so assiduously and profitably used, that a great change comes over the scene, and the train passes through woods where elms and other forest trees seem to thrive almost as well as they do in damp England; and one can easily understand how this artificial verdure in the plain must delight the Castilian, who otherwise, if he wishes to enjoy such sights, must leave the heat of the plain for the cold winds of the mountain ranges of the Guadarrama. Aranjuez is, however, but an oasis in this Castilian desert, and the railway, soon leaving it behind, wends its way along the treeless, leafless plain to the ecclesiastical capital of the kingdom. On the opposite or right bank of the Tagus, the hills rise to a considerable height, and here and there their dull brown outlines are marked, though hardly relieved, by large clusters of houses surrounding the lofty and apparently uninteresting churches which mark the villages, whose *tout ensemble* seems everywhere on nearer inspection most uninviting to the eye. The banks of the Tagus are more refreshing, for here the water-wheels for raising water, which line the margin of the stream, suggest some desire on the part of the people to make the most of their opportunities, and they are rewarded by the luxuriant growth which always attends irrigation in Spain.

I looked out long and anxiously for the first view of Toledo, but the hills, which nearly surround it, conceal it altogether until one has arrived within about two or three miles' distance; and here, with the Tagus meandering through its *vega* in the

foreground, the great mass of the hospital outside and below the city to the right hand, and the wall-encircled rock on which the city is perched, crowned by the vast mass of the Alcazar to the left, the view is certainly fine and impressive.

From most points of view, both within and without the city, the cathedral is seldom well, and sometimes not at all, seen, standing as it does on much lower ground on the side of the rock which slopes towards the least accessible part of the river gorge, and much surrounded by other buildings, whilst the Alcazar, which occupies the highest ground in the whole city, is so vast and square a block of prodigiously lofty walls (old in plan, but modern in most of their details) as to command attention everywhere. The other side of the river is edged by bold hills, and all along its banks are to be seen water-wheels so placed as to raise the water for the irrigation of the land on either side. It is not, however, until after more intimate knowledge of the city has been gained that its extreme picturesqueness and interest are discovered. The situation is, indeed, most wild and striking. The Tagus, winding almost all round the city, confines it much in the fashion in which the Wear surrounds Durham. But here the town is far larger, the river banks are more rocky, precipitous, and wild than at Durham; whilst the space enclosed within them is a confused heap of rough and uneven ground, well covered with houses, churches, and monasteries, and intersected everywhere by narrow, Eastern, and Moorish-looking streets and alleys, most of which afford no passage-room for any kind of carriage, and but scanty room for foot passengers. It is, consequently, without exception, the most difficult city to find one's way in that I have ever seen, and the only one in which I have ever found myself obliged to confess a commissionaire¹ or guide of some sort to be an absolute necessity, if one would not waste half one's time in trying to find the way from one place to another.

The railway station is outside the city, which is entered from it by the famous bridge of Alcantara, which has a single wide and lofty arch above the stream, guarded on the further side by a gateway of the time of Charles V., and on the town side by one of semi-Moorish character. Above it are seen, as one enters, the picturesque apses of the old church of Santiago, and the

¹ Señor Cabezas, a commissionaire, to be heard of at the Fonda de Lino, may be recommended. He knows all the most interesting churches, as well as the Moorish remains; and to see these last it is indispensable to have some conductor who knows both them and their owners (2).

tolerably perfect remains of the double *enceinte* of the city walls; whilst on the opposite side of the river, as a further guard to the well-protected city, was the Castle of San Cervantes¹ (properly San Servando), of which nothing now remains but a few rugged towers and walls crowning the equally rugged rocks.²

The road from the bridge, passing under the gateway which guards it into a small walled courtyard, turns sharply to the right under another archway, and then rises slowly below the walls until, with another sharp turn, it passes under the magnificent Moorish *Puerta del Sol*, and so on into the heart of the city.

The Alcazar is the only important building seen in entering on this side; but from the other side of the city where the bridge of San Martin crosses the Tagus, the cathedral is a feature in the view, though it never seems to be so prominent as might be expected with a church of its grand scale. From both these points of view, indeed, it must be remembered that the effect is not produced by the beauty or grandeur of any one building; it is the desolate sublimity of the dark rocks that bound the river; the serried phalanx of wall, and town, and house, that line the cliffs; the tropical colour of sky, and earth, and masonry; and, finally, the forlorn decaying and deserted aspect of the whole, that makes the views so impressive and so unusual. Looking away from the city walls towards the north, the view is much more *riant*, for there the Tagus, escaping from its rocky

¹ This castle is said by Ponz to have been built by Archbishop Tenorio, circa 1340.—*Viage de España*, i. 163.

² It seems that the bridge of Alcantara fell down in the year 1211, and when it was repaired Enrique I. built a tower for the better defence of the city, as is recorded in an inscription given by Estevan de Garibay as follows: "Henrik, son of the king Alfonso, ordered this tower and gate to be made, to the honour of God, by the hand of Matheo Paradiso in the era 1255" (A.D. 1217). In A.D. 1258 the king D. Alonso "*el Sabio*" rebuilt the bridge, and put the following inscription on a piece of marble over the point of the arch: "In the year 1258 from the incarnation of our Lord Jesus Christ, was the grand deluge of water, which commenced before the month of August, and lasted until Thursday the 26th of December; and the fall of rain was very great in most lands, and did great damage in many places, and especially in Spain, where most of the bridges fell; and among all the others was demolished a great part of that bridge of Toledo, which Halaf, son of Mahomet Alameri, Alcalde of Toledo, had made by command of Almansor, Aboaamir Mahomet, son of Abihamir, Alquazil of Amir Almomenin Hixem; and it was finished in the time of the Moors, 387 years before this time; and the king, D. Alonso, son of the noble king D. Ferrando, and of the queen Doña Beatriz, who reigned in Castile, had it repaired and renovated; and it was finished in the eighth year of his reign, in the year of the Incarnation 1258."—Cean Bermudez, *Arq. de Esp.* i. 254-255. The bridge was restored again by Archbishop Tenorio in 1380, and fortified in 1484 by Andres Manrique.—Ford, *Hand-book of Spain*, p. 783.

defile, meanders across a fertile *vega*, and long lines of trees, with here a ruined castle, and there the apse of the curious church of the Cristo de la Vega, and there again the famous factory of arms, give colour and incident to a view which would anywhere be thought beautiful, but is doubly grateful by comparison with the sad dignity of the forlorn old city.

The buildings to be studied here are of singular interest, inasmuch as they reflect in a great degree the striking history of the city itself, as well as of the kingdom of which it was so long the capital. There is no doubt that there was a cathedral, as well as some churches,¹ here before the conquest of this part of

¹ I must mention in this place one very curious collection of relics of the age of the Gothic kings of Spain. This is the marvellous group of votive crowns discovered in 1858 in a place called La Fuente de Guarrazar, in the environs of Toledo, and which were immediately purchased by the Emperor of the French for the Museum of the Hôtel de Cluny. They consist of five or six crowns, with crosses suspended from them, and three smaller crowns without crosses. They are of gold, and made with thin plates of gold, stamped with a pattern, and they have gold chains for hanging them up by, and are adorned with an infinity of stones. They have been illustrated in a volume published by M. F. de Lasteyrie, with explanatory text. I cannot do better than quote the conclusions at which he arrives: "(1) The crowns found at Guarrazar are eminently votive crowns. (2) They have never been worn. (3) Their construction belongs probably to the age of Reccesvinthus and the episcopate of S. Ildefonso, who excited so great a devotion to the Blessed Virgin in Spain. (4) One of the crowns was offered by Reccesvinthus (whose name, formed in letters suspended from its edge, occurs on it); possibly the next in size may have been given by the queen, and the rest by their officers. (5) The place from which they came was a chapel called N. Dame des Cormiers. (6) All of the crowns, though found in Spain, appear to belong to an art of the same northern origin as the conquering dynasty which then occupied the throne. They certainly give the idea of an extraordinary skill in the goldsmith's art at this early period (*circa* 650-672), and it is probable that they had been buried where they were found at the time that the Moors entered Toledo as conquerors in A.D. 711."—See *Description du Trésor de Guarrazar*, etc., par Ferdinand de Lasteyrie, Paris, 1860. Since this discovery some other crowns have been found in the same neighbourhood, and these are, I believe, preserved at Madrid (3). They have been described in a short paper in the *Proceedings of the Society of Antiquaries*, to which I must refer my readers. The crowns preserved at the Hôtel Cluny certainly form one of the greatest attractions in that attractive collection. They are in a singularly perfect state of preservation. Their workmanship is rather rude, and they all appear to be of as nearly as possible the same age and manufacture. There can be no question that M. F. de Lasteyrie is right in saying that they were never worn as crowns; they were designed for suspension before an altar, and most of them have crosses hanging from them. The largest crown—that of Reccesvinthus—is formed of two plates of gold, the inner plate plain, the outer pierced, beaten up, and set with very large stones. The plates of gold in many cases are stamped with a pattern. At the top and bottom of the plate which forms the coronet is a narrow band of cloisonnée gold, the spaces in which seem to have been filled with glass or red-coloured enamel. The largest crown is eight-and-a-half inches in diameter, and has a splendid jewelled cross suspended from its centre, and the name of the king in large Roman letters hung by chains

Spain, in A.D. 711, by the Moors; and in the course of the long period of nearly four centuries during which the Mohammedan rule lasted, many buildings were erected, and a Moorish population was firmly planted, which, when Alenso VI. regained the city in 1085, was still protected, and continued to live in it as before. The Moors had, indeed, set an example of toleration¹ worthy of imitation by their Christian conquerors; for though it is true that they converted the old cathedral into their principal mosque, they still allowed the Christians to celebrate their services in some other churches² which existed at the time of the Conquest; and during the greater part of the Christian rule, their tolerant example was so far followed, that the Moors seem to have enjoyed the same freedom, and to have lived there unmolested, whilst they built everywhere, and acted, in fact, as architects, in the old city, not only for themselves, but also for the Christians and the Jews, down to the establishment of the Inquisition. It is a very remarkable fact, indeed, that with one grand exception nearly all the buildings of the twelfth, thirteenth, and fourteenth centuries, which are to be seen here, are more or less Moorish in their character;³ and though the

from its lower edge, and formed of cloisonnée gold. When I see such work done in the seventh century, and then look at modern jewellers' work, I am tempted to think that the much vaunted progress of the world is not always in the right direction. Gold and silver ornaments were exported from Spain to so considerable an extent, that the tiara of the Pope, being richly wrought with precious metal, was called *Spanoclista*.—Masdeu, *Hist. Critica*.

¹ "The Christians, in all matters exclusively relating to themselves, were governed by their own laws, administered by their own judges. Their churches and monasteries (*rosæ inter spinas*) were scattered over the principal towns, and their clergy were allowed to display the costume and celebrate the pompous ceremonial of the Romish religion."—Prescott, *Hist. of Ferdinand and Isabella*, i. 5.

² Sta. Justa (founded in 554), Sta. Eulalia (559), San Sebastian (601), San Marcos (634), San Lucas (641), San Torcuato (700), and Nuestra Señora del Arribal were the churches so granted for the use of the Mozarabic Liturgy. See D. Manuel de Assas, *Album Art. de Toledo*, art. ii., and D. Sisto Ramon Parro, *Toledo en la Mano*, p. 167 *et seq.*

³ "The most remarkable buildings which illustrate the Mohammedan architecture in Toledo are the following:—The Mosque, now church of Cristo de la Luz, the Synagogues Sta. Maria la Blanca and El Transito, the church of San Roman—probably once a Mosque or Synagogue—the gateways De Visagra and Del Sol, and one on the Bridge of Alcantara, the Alcazar, the Palace of D. Diego, the Casa de Mesa, the Taller del Moro, the Temple (No. 10, Calle de San Miguel), the College of Saint Catherine, the house No. 17, Calle de las Tornerias, the ruins of the Palace of Villena, those of S. Augustine, of San Ginés, the Baths de la Cava, the Castle of San Servando (or Cervantes), the Palace of Galiena, and finally the churches of SS. Ursula, Torcuato, Isabel, Marcos, Justo, Juan de la Penitencia, Miguel, Magdalena, Concepcion, Sta. Fé, Santiago, Cristo de la Vega (or Sta. Leocadia), SS. Tomé and Bartolomé."—D. Manuel de Assas, *Album*

cathedral, which is the one exception, is an example of thoroughly pure Gothic work almost from first to last, there never seems to have been any other attempt to imitate the Christian architectural idea of which it was so grand an exponent. I have purposely avoided going to those parts of Spain in which the Moors were undisputed masters during the middle ages; but here it is impossible to dismiss what they did without proper notice, seeing that, after Granada and Cordoba, perhaps nowhere is there so much to be seen of their work as in Toledo.

The buildings to be examined will be best described under certain heads, reserving the cathedral for the last, because some of the Moorish buildings are the oldest in the city, and these lead naturally on to the later works of the same class. The order in which I shall attempt to take them will be therefore as follows:—

- I. The Moorish mosque;
- II. The Jewish synagogues;
- III. The Moorish houses;
- IV. The Moorish work in churches;
- V. The gateways, walls, and bridges;
- VI. The cathedral and other examples of Christian art.

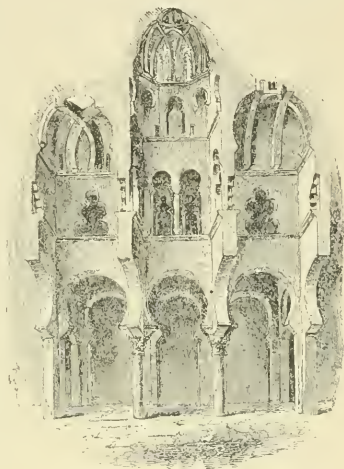
There are, indeed, some works anterior to the rule of the Moors, for below the walls, in the *vega*, are said to be some slight remains of a Roman amphitheatre;¹ in addition to which there are still some fragments of work *possibly* Visigothic, and anterior therefore to the Moorish Conquest of 711. These are confined to a few capitals which have some appearance of having been re-used by the Moors in their own constructions, such *e.g.* as the capitals of the Mosque now called the “Cristo de la Luz,” and those of the arcades on either side of the church of San Roman, together with some fragments preserved in the court of the hospital of Sta. Cruz. They are very rudely sculptured, and bear so slight a resemblance to the early Romanesque work of the same period, that it is difficult, I think, to decide positively as to their age. It is certain, however, that the earliest distinctly Moorish capitals are entirely unlike them in their character, and quite original in their conception; and it is, of

Artist. de Toledo, and *Toledo Pintoresca*, Don J. Amador de los Rios. There are other remains, and among them a very fine room behind the house, No. 12, Calle la Plata.

¹ Ponz, *Viage de España*, i. 210, gives a view of the considerable remains of a Roman aqueduct. I believe these have now entirely disappeared.

course, very possible that the Moors, pressed by the necessity of the case, would, after their conquest, not only have retained some of the existing buildings, but also have re-used the best of their materials in their new works.

The earliest of the distinctly Moorish buildings is a little mosque—now called the church of “Cristo de la Luz”—which was standing at the time of the entrance of Don Alonso VI. into the city, on Sunday, May 25, 1085. He entered by the old Puerta de Visagra, and, turning into this the first mosque on his road, ordered mass to be said, and hung up his shield there before he went further. No doubt the nave of the building is still very much in the state in which he found it; it is very small, only 21 ft. 7½ in. by 20 ft. 2 in., and this space is subdivided into nine compartments by four very low circular columns, which are about a foot in diameter. Their capitals are some of those of which I have just



S. CRISTO DE LA LUZ, TOLEDO

spoken; they are all different, and, it seemed to me, more like Moorish work than the other capitals of the same class at San Roman and Sta. Cruz. The arches, of which four spring from each capital, are all of the round horseshoe form; above them is a string-course, and all the intermediate walls are carried up to the same height as the main walls. They are all pierced above the arches with arcades of varied design, generally cusped in very Moorish fashion, and supported on shafts; and above these each of the nine divisions is crowned with a little vault, formed by intersecting cusped ribs, thrown in the most fantastic way across each other, and varied in each compartment. The scale of the whole work is so diminutive that it is difficult, no doubt, to understand how so much is done in so small a space; but, looking to the early date of the work, it is impossible not to feel very great respect for the workmen who built it, and for the ingenious intricacy which has made their work look so much

larger and more important than it really is.¹ It is, indeed, an admirable instance of the skill and dexterity in design which seem to have marked the Moors so honourably from the first, and which must have made them, as far as one can judge, in every respect but their faith so much the superiors of their Christian contemporaries. An apse has been added for the altar, but this is evidently a much later addition to the old mosque. The exterior face of the walls is built of brick and rough stone. The lower part of the side wall being arcaded with three round arches, within the centre of which is a round horseshoe arch for a doorway, above is a continuous sunk arcade of cusped arches, within which are window openings with round horseshoe heads. The lower part of the walls is built with single courses of brick, alternating with rough stonework; the piers and arches of brick, with projecting labels and strings also of un moulded brick. The arches of the upper windows are built with red and green bricks alternated. The horseshoe arches here are built in the usual Moorish fashion, the lower part of the arch being constructed with bricks laid horizontally, and cut at the edge to the required curve; and about halfway round the arch they are cut back to receive the arch, which is there commenced. In the same way the cinquefoiled arches of the upper arcade have their lowest cusps formed by the stone abacus, the intermediate cusps by bricks laid horizontally and cut at the edge, and the upper central cusp alone has any of its masonry constructed as an arch (4).

The upper stage of the mosque called De las Tornerias is Moorish work of the same plan as the Cristo de la Luz; but I am much inclined to doubt whether it is equally ancient. The rosettes cut in the vaults, and the cusped openings, give this impression, and the vaults are quadripartite and domical in section, the centre (5) of the nine small bays of vaulting being raised higher than the others, and having two parallel ribs crossing each other both ways, in the way I have already noticed in the Chapter-house at Salamanca and the Templars' Church at Segovia.

There is, so far as I know, no other mosque in the city so little altered as these; but among the churches some are said to have been first of all built for mosques. San Roman is one

¹ There is a view in Villa Amil's work of this interior, but the scale of the figures introduced is so much too small as to increase largely the apparent size of the building; otherwise the drawing is fairly correct. The illustration which I give is borrowed from Mr. Fergusson's *Handbook of Architecture*, and is from a drawing by M. Girault de Prangey.

of these. It was converted into a parish church at the end of the eleventh century,¹ and the column and arches between the nave and aisles are probably of this date. The arches are of the horseshoe form, and the capitals are, I think, commonly quoted as some of the earlier works re-used by the Moors. But I very much doubt whether their style justifies my attributing to them any date earlier than the eleventh century. The church was not consecrated until June 20th, 1221, but there can be no doubt that it was built before this date (6). The noble steeple is one of the works built by Moorish architects for Christian use, and it will be better, perhaps, to reserve it for description with other works of the same class.

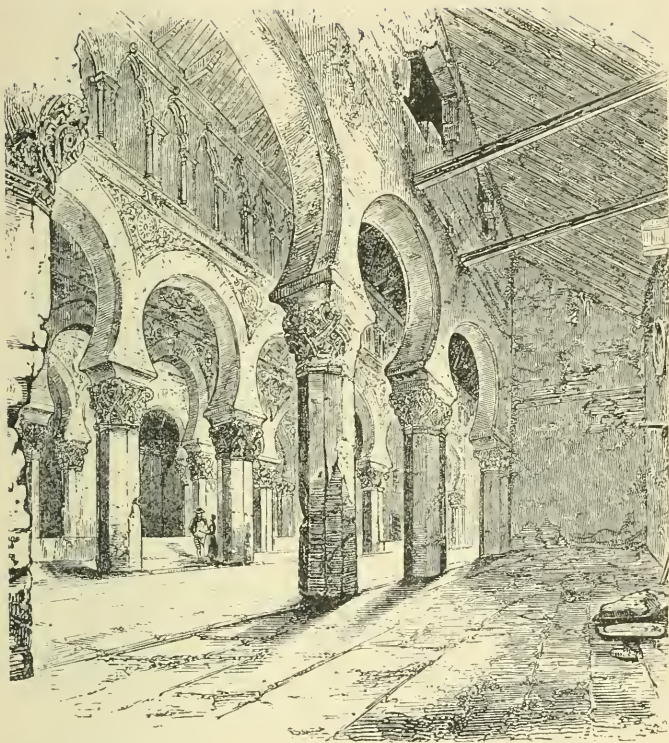
Of the two synagogues the older is that which was founded in the twelfth century, but seized in A.D. 1405 by the Toledans—instigated by the preaching of San Vicente Ferrer—and dedicated as a church under the name of Sta. Maria la Blanca.² The modernised exterior is of no interest, but the interior is fairly preserved by the zeal, I believe, of some Spanish antiquaries, having long been disused as a church. In plan it consists of a nave, with two aisles on either side. A quasi-chancel was formed at the east end (in the sixteenth century apparently) by the prolongation of the central compartment or nave beyond the aisles, and the intermediate aisles were also lengthened to a less extent at the same time. There are eight horseshoe arches rising from octagonal columns in each of the arcades, and the whole of them, as well as their capitals, are executed in brick, covered with plaster. The capitals are exceedingly elaborate, but very slightly varied in pattern: they have but little connection with any of the usual types of Byzantine or Romanesque capitals, though they have rather more, perhaps, of the delicate intricacy of the former than of any of the features of the latter,

¹ I find that Archbishop Rodrigo consecrated the church of San Roman on the 20th of June 1221. See his "Historia de Rebus Hispaniæ," in *España Sagrada*, ii. 23.

² San Vicente Ferrer is said to have converted more than 4000 Toledan Jews in one day in the year 1407; and in 1413 a vast number were converted in Zaragoza, Calatayud, and elsewhere in the north of Spain. One cannot but fear that coming events in this case cast their shadows before them, and that the Jews had a shrewd suspicion of the coming of the edict of 1492, by which 170,000 Jewish families were ordered to leave the kingdom if they would not be baptised. The establishment of the Inquisition was the necessary consequence of such an edict. See Don J. Amador de los Rios, *Estudios sobre los Judios de España*, p. 84, 106, 156.

The illustration which I give of the interior of this synagogue is borrowed from Mr. Fergusson's *Handbook of Architecture*. The original view is in M. Villa Amil's work, and gives a fairly correct representation of the general effect of the building.

and they are, I imagine, very much later than the original capitals which they overlay. All the Moorish decorative work seems to have been executed in the same way in plaster. This was of very fine quality, and was evidently cut and carved as if it had been stone, and seldom, if ever, I think, stamped or moulded, according to the mistaken practice of the present day. The consequence is that there is endless variety of design everywhere, and—wherever it was desired—any amount of undercutting. The spandrels above the arches are filled in with arabesque patterns, and there is a cusped wall arcade below the roof: but almost all of this is evidently of much later date than the original foundation, as the patterns are all of that large class of Moorish devices which, though they retain many of their old peculiarities, borrow largely at the same time from the traceries and cusping of late Gothic work. Unfortunately in such work the material affords so small an assistance in the detection of alterations, that it requires the exercise of considerable caution to ascertain their exact limits; and in Toledo, as in most places, people seem always disposed to claim the highest possible antiquity in all cases, seldom allowing anything to have been done by the Moors after the restoration of the Christian rule, though, in fact, the exact converse of this would be nearer the truth. The roof has coupled tie beams—placed a very slight distance apart—an arrangement of which the Moorish carpenters seem to have been always very fond. The pavement is very good, but must, I imagine, be of about the date of the conversion of the synagogue into a church. It is divided into compartments by border tiles, laid down the length of the church on either side of the columns. The spaces between these are filled in with a rich diaper of encaustic and plain red tiles, whilst the general area between these richer bands is paved with large red, relieved by an occasional encaustic tile. The latter have patterns in white, dark blue, and yellow, and in all cases they are remarkable for the beautiful inequality both of the colours and of the surface of the tiles. Both colour and material are in themselves better than the work of our tile-manufacturers at the present day, and illustrate very well the difference between hand-work and machine-work, which I have already noticed in comparing the old and new modes of dealing with plaster. The Moorish tiles are very commonly seen in Toledo, and were used both for flooring and inlaying walls, and in some cases for the covering of roofs. This synagogue of Sta. Maria la Blanca is on the whole disappointing. I went to it expecting to see a building of the ninth or



STA. MARIA LA BLANCA, TOLEDO
INTERIOR, LOOKING EAST

tenth century, and found instead a fabric possibly of this age, but in which—thanks to the plasterers of the fourteenth or fifteenth century—nothing of the original building but the octagonal columns and the simple form of the round horseshoe arches is still visible. Nevertheless it well deserves examination, and a more accurate knowledge of the detail of Moorish work would, I dare say, have enabled me to separate more clearly the work of the original church from the additions with which it has been overlaid (7).

The other synagogue is now converted into the church called "del Transito,"¹ and about the date of this there is no doubt. It was erected by Samuel Levi,² a rich Jew, who held the office of treasurer to Pedro the Cruel, and was completed in A.D. 1366; but it did not long retain its first purpose, the Jews having been expelled the kingdom in 1492,³ and this synagogue having then been given by Ferdinand and Isabella to the order of Calatrava.

The building is a simple parallelogram, 31 feet 5 inches wide, by 76 feet in length. The lower portion of the side walls is quite unornamented for 20 or 25 feet in height; but above this is very richly adorned with plaster-work. There is, first, a broad band of foliage, with Hebrew inscriptions above and below it, and above this on each side an arcade of nineteen arches, springing from coupled shafts, eight of its divisions being pierced and filled with very elaborate lattice-work. The end wall (now the altar end) has a very slight recess in the centre, and the whole of it to within some seven feet of the floor is covered with rich patterns, inscriptions, and coats of arms, whilst

¹ Said to have been so called on account of the passing-bell rung at the death of any of the Knights of Calatrava, to which it belonged after A.D. 1492; but more probably owing to its possession of a picture of the Assumption, the church having sometimes been called Nuestra Señora del Transito. It is also called San Benito. See D. Man. de Assas, *Alb. Art. de Toledo*.

² For some notice of Samuel Levi, and the inscriptions in the Synagogue, see Don José Amador de los Ríos, *Estudios sobre los Judíos de España*, 52-57. Translations of these long and curious Hebrew inscriptions are given by D. F. de Rades y Andrada in his *Chronicle of Calatrava*, p. 24, 25.

³ The capture of Granada, on Jan. 2nd, 1492, and the expulsion of the Jews at the end of July in the same year, were jointly recorded over the door "del Escribanos" at the west end of the cathedral; and at the same time so great was the zeal for the Christian faith that nothing else was tolerated anywhere in Spain, and least of all here under the eye of the Primate. Yet it is more than doubtful whether the country gained in any way—moral or material—by such a measure; it lost its most skilled workmen, its most skilled agriculturists; and the gloom-inspiring effect of the necessary Inquisition seems permanently to have fixed itself on Spanish art and manners. 170,000 families of Jews, at the time of their expulsion, were compelled to leave the kingdom in four months, or be baptised.—Don J. A. de los Ríos, *Estudios s. l. Judíos*, p. 156.

above the arcade is continued on from the side walls in eight divisions. The arcades are all cusped in the usual Moorish fashion, the outline of the cusps being horseshoe, but without an enclosing arch. The end opposite to the altar has two windows pierced in the upper arcade, and three windows below breaking up into the band of foliage and inscriptions. The whole is now whitewashed, and though the detail is all fantastic and overdone, the effect is nevertheless fine, owing to the great height of the walls and to the contrast between the excessive enrichment of their upper and the plainness of their lower part.

The Retablo over the principal altar is a work of the end of the fifteenth century, but not of remarkable merit, having paintings of Scripture subjects under carved canopies; there is another of the same class against the north wall. The roof is a grand example of the Moorish "*artesonado*"¹ work. It has coupled tie-beams, and a deep cornice, which is carried boldly across the angles, so as to give polygonal ends to the roof, which is hipped at the ends, the rafters sloping equally on all four sides. These rafters are only introduced to improve the appearance of, and—it may be—the possibility of hearing what was read in, the synagogue. The pitch of the real roof is very flat, and where a flat roof is absolutely necessary, this kind of ceiling is undoubtedly very effective. At some height above the plate the sloping rafters are stopped by a flat ceiling below the collar rafters, panelled all over in the ingeniously intricate geometrical figures of which the Moorish architects were so fond, and in the device of which they were always only too ingenious. The rafters as well as the tie-beams are used in pairs placed close to each other, and the space between them is divided into panels by horizontal pieces at short intervals, with patterns sunk in the panels. There is a western gallery, and some seats made of glazed encaustic tiles on each side of the sanctuary (8).

The exterior has arcades answering to those of the interior: it is built mainly of brick, with occasional bands of rough stonework. The bricks are 11 in. by $7\frac{3}{4}$ in. by $1\frac{1}{4}$ in. in size, and are used with a mortar joint $1\frac{1}{4}$ in. in thickness.

It is impossible to deny the grandeur of the internal effect of this room. The details are entirely unlike what I should wish to see repeated; but the proportions, the contrasted simplicity

¹ From *arteson*, a kneading-trough; a curved ceiling, made in the shape of an inverted trough. This term is usually applied by Spanish writers to this class of roof, and I follow Mr. Ford's example in adopting it, as we have no term which exactly represents it.

and intricacy of the lower and upper part of the walls, the admission of all the light from above, and the magnificence of the roof, might all be emulated in a Gothic building, and I have seen few rooms which have appeared to me to be more suggestive of the right form and treatment for a picture gallery or saloon for any state purpose.

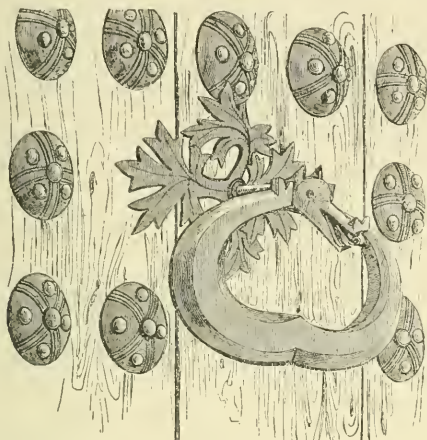
The two synagogues I have described stand now in the most deserted and melancholy part of Toledo. The old *Juderia*, or Jews' quarter, is decayed and abandoned. The Jews, of course, are all expelled from it, and the Christians seem to have avoided their quarter as though there were a curse on it. Samuel Levi, the founder of El Transito, built for himself a magnificent palace near it, of which, I believe, some part still exists, though I did not see it (9).

The Moorish houses, which I must now shortly describe, appear to be very numerous and of all dates, from the twelfth century down to the conquest of Granada; and it seemed to me that up to this time almost *all* the houses must have been the work of Moorish architects. The Jews and Moors were both very numerous bodies—so much so that Toledo is charged by an old writer with having had in it none others—and there is nothing to show that the Christians ever employed any other architects. The common type of house is one which is completely Moorish in plan, even when the details are not so. It almost always had a long dark entrance passage, with an outer door to the street, studded thickly with nails of the most exaggerated size, and furnished with great knockers. The outer room or passage—ceiled with open timbers, boarded or panelled between—opens into the *patio* or central court, over which in hot weather an awning or curtain could be hung. This *patio* is surrounded by open passages on all sides, supported by wooden posts, or sometimes on granite columns, and the staircase to the upper floors rises from one angle of it. The woodwork is generally well wrought with moulded ends to the joists and moulded plates. Here are usually one or two wells, the court having been the impluvium where all the water from the roof was collected in a large cistern below the pavement. Toledo is still a clean city, and Ponz,¹ defending its credit from an attack by an Italian writer, maintains that the women are so clean that they wash the brick-floors of their houses as often as they do their dishes!

This is the type of house to be seen probably in every street

¹ *Viage de España*, i. 41.

in the city; but here and there are still left other houses of distinctly Moorish architecture, and of extreme magnificence in their adornment. Looking to the frail material of all these enrichments, the wonder is, not that so few houses remain, but rather that anything at all exists; and even in their present forlorn state there is something very interesting in these houses and rooms and decorations, so utterly unlike anything to which a northern eye is ever accustomed at home. The examples of



KNOCKER AND NAILS ON DOOR, TOLEDO

this class which I saw seemed to be all of the same date—either of the fourteenth or fifteenth century—and though full of variety in their detail, extremely similar in their general effect. A room in the Casa de Mesa is the finest I saw, and I suppose that even in the South of Spain there are few better examples of its class. Its dimensions are 20 ft. 3 in. in width, by about 55 ft. in length and 34 ft. in height. The walls are lined at the base with very good encaustic tiles, rising nearly 4 ft. from the floor; above this line they are plain up to the cornice, save where the elaborately-decorated entrance archway—an uncusped arch, set in a frame, as it were, of the most fantastic and luxuriant foliage, arcading, and tracery—occupies a considerable part of one of the side walls. A very deep cornice of but slight projection, with a band of enrichment below it, surrounds the room, and this is

interrupted by the doorway at the side, and by a small two-light window at one end. This window of two lights, with a cusped round-arched head to each light and some delicate tracery above, is framed in a broad border of tracery work, copied from the latest Gothic panelling, so that the whole design is a complete mixture of Gothic and Moorish detail. The ceiling is in its old state and of the usual *artesonado* description. Its section is that of a lofty-pointed arch, truncated at the top, so as to give one panel in width flat, the rest being all on the curve. The roof is hipped at both ends and panelled throughout, each panel being filled in with a most ingenious star-like pattern, of the kind which one so commonly sees in Moorish work. The patterns are formed by ribs (square in section) of dark wood, with a white line along the centre of the soffit of each. The sides of the ribs are painted red, and the recessed panels have lines of white beads painted at their edges, and in the centre an arabesque on a dark blue ground. The colours are so arranged as to mark out as distinctly as possible the squares and patterns into which it is divided, and the sinking of some panels below the others allows the same pattern to be used for borders and grounds with very varied effect. The reds are rather crimson in tone, and the blues very dark. The plaster enrichments on the walls seemed, as far as I could make out, to have been originally left white, with the square edges of the plaster painted red; but I cannot speak quite positively on this point.

A room in a garden behind the house No. 12, in the Calle la Plata, is an almost equally good example, though on a smaller scale, and with a flat ceiling. The great entrance archway in the middle of one side is fringed with a crowd of small cusps, but otherwise it is treated very much in the same way as the door in the Casa de Mesa. The cornice here also is very deep, and the band of plaster enrichment below it is filled with Gothic geometrical tracery patterns. The ceiling is particularly good, being diapered at regular intervals with figures formed by two squares set across each other, with an octagonal cell sunk in the centre of each. This room is about 36 ft. long by 11 ft. 8 in. wide, and 11 ft. 5 in. high to the band below the cornice, and a little over 16 ft. in total height.

The "*Taller del Moro*," so called because it was turned into a workshop for the cathedral, and is in the Calle del Moro, is a more important work, consisting of three apartments, lavishly decorated. Don Patricio de la Escosura, in the letterpress to *España Artística y Monumental*, considers the date of this

building to be between the ninth and tenth centuries;¹ but I see no reason whatever for believing that its plaster decorations are earlier than 1350, or thereabouts.

The list which I have already given of Moorish works will show how many I have to leave undescribed; but I had not time to see all, and it is not worth while to describe with any more detail those that I did manage to see, for they are all extremely similar in the character of their decorations.

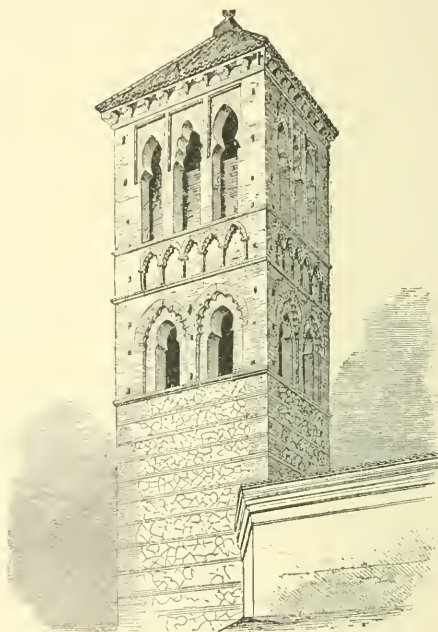
The work of the same kind in the churches of Toledo is of more interest, because here it is of that partly Moorish and partly Christian character, which shows that the Mohammedan architects, to whom no doubt we owe most of it, wrought under the direction to a considerable extent of their Christian masters, and in some respects with very happy results. In most of the general views of Toledo some steeples which are attached to churches of this class are to be seen, and they give much of its character to the city. I saw six of these, namely, those of Santo Tomé, San Miguel, San Pedro Martyr, Sta. Leocadia (10), San Roman, and La Concepcion; whilst among the churches in the same style are parts of Sta. Isabel, San Eugenio (11), San Bartolomé, Sta. Ursula, Sta. Fé, Santiago, and San Vicente.

The whole of these works are very similar in their general character, being built rather roughly of brick, with considerable use of cusped arcades in a succession of orders one over the other, the churches generally being finished with apses at the east end, and the towers being built without buttresses, and roofed with tiled roofs of moderate pitch.

The steeple of San Roman is the finest example of its class to be seen here. For half its height it is perfectly plain, built of rough stone, with occasional courses of brick, and quoined with brick. The string-courses are all of brick, unmoulded. The character of the three upper stages will be best understood by the illustration which I give. The cusped arch of the lower of the stages is certainly very pretty, but the common form of trefoiled Moorish arch enclosed within it seems to me to be the most frightful of all possible forms. It is neither graceful in itself, nor does it convey the idea of repose or strength; and it is so completely non-constructural, that the lower portion of the apparent arch is never built as an arch, but always with horizontal courses. In the belfry stage the bold variation of the openings is worthy of notice; and throughout the whole the utmost praise is due to the architect who, with none but the

¹ *España Art. y Mon.* i. 78.

commonest materials, and at the least possible expense in every way, has, nevertheless, left us a work much more worthy of critical examination than most of the costly works in brick erected by ourselves at the present day. It is amazing how much force is given by the abandonment of mouldings and chamfers, and the trust in broad, bold, square soffits to all the



SAN ROMAN. TOLEDO

openings. I must not omit to mention that the small red shafts in the arcade below the belfry seem to be made of terracotta.

The construction of the steeple is very peculiar. In the lowest stage it is divided by two arches springing from a central pier, and the two compartments thus formed are roofed with waggon-vaults. In the next stage the central pier is carried up, and has four arches springing from it to the walls. The four spaces left between these arches are vaulted with barrel-vaults at right angles to each other. The steps of the ascent to this

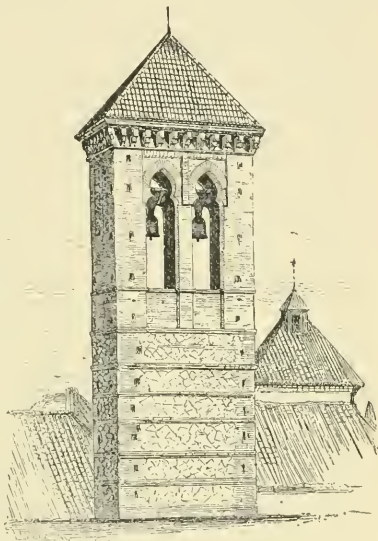
tower are carried on arches against the side walls, with occasional openings in the vaults when necessary for passing.

San Roman has a nave and aisles, with arcades of two arches between them; a chancel, mainly of Renaissance style, covered with a dome, but with some late Gothic groining to its apse; and a south chancel aisle ending without an apse. The tower is on the north side of the chancel. The whole church is plastered and whitewashed most painfully, but still retains one or two interesting features. The

footpace in front of the altar has a good pavement of large plain red tiles, laid diagonally, with small encaustic blue and white glazed tiles at intervals. The whole pavement is divided into a number of strips by rectangular bands of blue stone. The altar at the east end of the south choir aisle also deserves a note, being built with a solid black stone front, carved in imitation of embroidery and fringes, with an inscription on the superfrontal, and a shield suspended in the centre of the frontal. This strange device for economising altar vestments was not

common, I think, here, but several examples remain in the new cathedral at Salamanca. The reredos over this altar has a very sweet painting of the Last Supper, the figure of our Lord being much raised above those of the apostles, and the table at which He sits being polygonal (12).

Sta. Magdalena has a smaller and simpler tower of the same class; it is perfectly plain below the belfry stage, which has two windows in each face. The bells hang here, as is so often the case in Southern buildings, in the window; and in all these buildings, as in most other old examples of brickwork, the putlog-holes (or holes for the insertion of the scaffold-poles) are



SANTA MAGDALENA. TOLEDO

left open. The bricks, too, are used very roughly and picturesquely with a very thick mortar-joint, and the consequence is that every part of this work has a value in texture and light and shade undreamt of by those who have never seen anything but our own smooth, smart, and spiritless modern brick walls, built with bad bricks and no mortar.¹

The steeple of Santo Tomé (13) is so absolutely identical in its details—save that its shafts of glazed earthenware are alternately green and yellow—with that of San Roman, that it is unnecessary to describe it.²

San Pedro Martyr has a steeple which is much wider on one side than on the other, but is otherwise similar to that of San Roman in its general design. San Miguel, and Sta. Leocadia, and La Concepcion, have steeples more like that of La Magdalena, the towers being small, and with only one arcaded stage below the belfry. The masonry and brickwork is the same in all these examples, but their scale differs considerably, the steeple of San Roman being by far the largest and loftiest, that of Santo Tomé the next, and the others a good deal smaller.

All these steeples seem to me to illustrate not only the proper use of brick, already mentioned, but also the great difference between old and new works in the degree of simplicity and amount of cost with which their authors appear to be satisfied. It is seldom, indeed, at the present day, that we see a steeple erected which has not cost twice as much, in proportion to its size and solidity, as either of these old Toledan examples; and it is to be feared that few of us now have the courage to trust entirely in the virtue of doing only what the money given to us to spend will properly allow, without raising that silly and too-frequently-heard wail about our work having been spoilt for want of money, which no mediæval work, however poor, ever was!

¹ I am aware that in saying this I blame myself as much as any one else. The truth is, that so violent is the popular prejudice on some points that he must be a bold architect who ventures to run counter to it; and I am quite sure that the first brick building I erect with the brickwork executed in the proper way will be met by a storm of abuse from all sides. This is a great snare to most of us. Nothing is more easy than to secure popular applause in architecture. If we abstain from study, thought, or over-labour about the execution of every detail, we may still do what every one will agree is right and proper, because it has been done five hundred times before; but if we only give a fair amount of all three we are sure to meet with plenty of critics who never give any of either, and who hate our work in proportion to their own incapacity to criticise it from their old standpoint.

² A good illustration of Santo Tomé is given in *Villa Amil*, vol. ii.

I have been unable to satisfy myself, by any documentary evidence, as to the age of these buildings. There is some record of extensive works in the church of Santo Tomé in the beginning of the fourteenth century,¹ but, as we see that the church has since been paganised without damage to the town (14), it is possible that they may also have escaped the previous works. On the other hand, the king Don Alonso VIII. is said to have been proclaimed from the steeple window of San Roman, in 1166; and, looking to the character of the Puerta Visagra—an undoubted work of the commencement of the twelfth century—I do not know whether we should be justified in refusing to give the steeple of San Roman the date claimed for it, though my impression when I was looking at it, without consulting any authorities, was, that this work was none of it older than the end of the thirteenth century (15). The first impressions of an English eye in looking at the Moorish work are not, however, much to be depended on, the profusion of cusped arches, in which the Moorish architects so early indulged, always giving their work a rather late effect.

Among the churches of Moresque character that I saw, I may specially mention those of Santiago and Sta. Leocadia. The former appeared to me to be a work mainly of the fourteenth century (16). It is a parallel-triapsidal church, and has some old brick arcading on the exterior of the chancel aisle, but is generally so bedaubed with plaster and whitewash as to be uninteresting. It is said to have an *artesonado* ceiling, but I do not recollect this, and I believe it has a plaster ceiling below the old one. The pulpit is a rather striking work of that mixed Moorish and Gothic detail which prevailed in the fifteenth century. One fact I noticed here, and again at Valencia Cathedral, was, that the pulpit had no door, and the only access seemed to be over the side, by aid of a ladder! When pulpits were erected, it is fair to suppose that they were meant to be used; but in the Spain of the present day it is, perhaps, not of much consequence if they are unusable, as sermons do not seem to be very much in vogue.

Of the other churches in the city Sta. Isabel (17) has a polygonal apse, with each side arcaded with a Moorish trefoil arch. San Eugenio has a similar apse, with a second stage, with multifoil arcading all along it; and San Bartolomé has three of these cusped and arcaded stages in its apse. Sta. Ursula has a stone apse, circular in plan, coursed with brick, and pierced with three

¹ *Toledo en la Mano*, pp. 249 *et seq.* *Escosura* in *Villa Amil*, ii. 51.

Moorish windows (18). La Concepcion (19) has a polygonal apse of rude stonework below, and is coursed with bricks from mid-height upwards, with three Moresque windows set within square recessed panels; whilst Sta. Fé presents the unusual feature of buttresses to the apse, and has an interlacing arcade below the eaves, and long lancet windows set within Moresque cusped panels (20). Sta. Leocadia (commonly called Cristo de la Vega), just outside the city, and in the valley below its walls, also retains the apse of its church, erected on a site which is said to have been first built upon as early as the fourth century. This is entirely covered with arcading from the ground to the eaves, arranged in three equal orders, the lower cusped, the next having the common Moorish trefoil, and the upper being round-arched. Some of the panels of these arcades are pierced for light. The existing building is probably in no part earlier than the twelfth century; it consists of a small modern nave, a sanctuary of two bays with round transverse arches, and cusped Moresque arches in the side walls (21). The apse at the east end is roofed with a semi-dome. At the west end is a small modern cemetery, full of gravestones, inscribed at least as fully, fondly, and foolishly as those we indulge in in our own cemeteries (22).

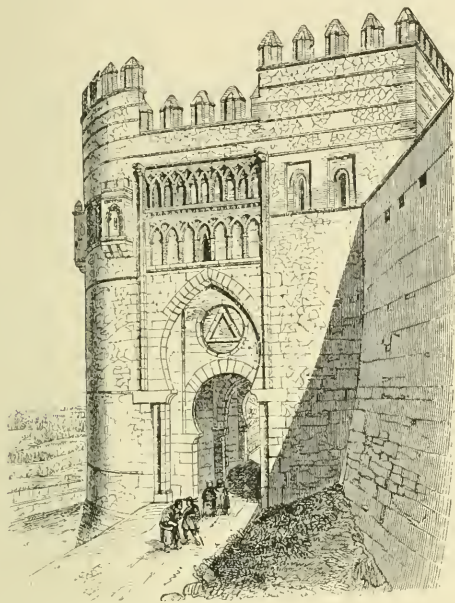
In addition to these more important works there are, in the cathedral, a door leading into the chapter-room, and a recessed arch in one of the chapels on the south side of the nave, executed by Moorish artists probably in the fifteenth or sixteenth century. It has been absurdly enough suggested that these are parts of the ancient mosque which stood on the same site; but there is no ground whatever for the idea, the work being evidently of much later date, and it being at the time a common fashion to introduce some work of this kind into buildings which otherwise are purely Gothic.

The last head under which I have to describe Moorish work is, perhaps, also the most interesting. The walls, gateways, and bridges of Toledo are, I think, the finest I have anywhere seen; in part, at least, of extreme age, very perfectly preserved, and on a grand scale. There is a double line of wall on the unprotected side of the city towards the *Vega*, the inner line said to be the work of the Visigoths, before the Moorish conquest, in 711,¹ and the outer built in 1109, by Alonso VI. Both walls seem to go from the Bridge of Alcantara on one side of the city, to the Bridge of S. Martin on the other. Outside the wall the hills

¹ Ford's *Handbook*, p. 777.

and walls slope down rapidly to the valley; whilst within them the uneven surface is covered thickly with houses everywhere, until the Tagus, winding round three parts of the city in its deep, savage, and solitary defile—a solitariness all the more impressive from being so near to the busy hive of men—encloses it, and makes defensive erections almost unnecessary.

I have already given some account of the Bridge of Alcan-



PUERTA DEL SOL. TOLEDO

tara.¹ It is of two lofty arches, with a bold projecting pier between them. Here is one of the best points of view of the two lines of wall, which are broken constantly by round or square projecting towers, and ascend and descend in the most picturesque fashion, to suit the rugged inequality of the rocks on which they are built. I know no view more picturesque and magnificent. The first gateway reached is the Puerta del Sol, which is so admirable an example of the picturesqueness of which the style is capable, that I cannot resist giving an illustra-

¹ See ante, p. 300.

tion of it. It is, indeed, not only picturesque, but in all respects a dignified and noble work of art. The variety of arches, one behind the other, which is seen here, was a very favourite device with the Moorish architects. Here, I think, there are four, two pointed and two round, but all horseshoe in their outline. The outer gateway on the old Bridge of S. Martin has five such arches, two of them being round and one pointed horseshoe, one a plain round, and one a plain pointed arch. In the Puerta del Sol the intersecting arcades in brickwork over the arch, and the projecting turrets on a level with them, are extremely picturesque. The materials used are wrought stone, rough walling stones, and brick. The battlements are of a type which was repeated by the Christians in most parts of Spain, but was, no doubt, derived first of all from the Moors. The situation of the gateway is charming; with due regard to military requirements it turns its side to the enemy, and is reached by a winding road, which bends round at a sharp angle just before reaching it. To the left is seen the sweet view over the *Vega*, watered and made green by the kind river; a view which gains immensely on one's liking, compared, as it always is, with the dreary arid hills beyond, and with recollections of the weary waste over which so much of the traveller's road to Toledo must needs lie. The age of this gateway is not known, but it dates probably from the end of the twelfth, or beginning of the thirteenth century. So, at least, I judge by comparing it with the next gateway, that called the Puerta de Visagra, the finest gateway in the outer wall (which was erected *circa* 1108-26), and which cannot, therefore, be earlier than the beginning of the twelfth century.

The design of this Puerta de Visagra is clearly due to a Moorish architect, and it is extremely interesting to find the Christian king, so soon after his conquest of the city, making use of the Moors for his work, and to find them doing their best, apparently in their capacity as builders, to second his endeavours to make the recapture of the city by the Infidels impossible. The materials of this gate are the same as those of the other, but its character is much heavier and ruder. The contrast between the grand outer arch and the extremely small inner arch is very curious; the ground has, however, risen considerably in front of it, so that its real proportions are very much concealed. The wall is carried out in advance of this gateway, and has an angle-tower, which was schemed, no doubt, to secure the proper defence of the entrance. Further along, beyond the point at

which the two walls unite, we reach the Bridge of S. Martin—a noble arch of even grander scale than that of Alcantara, and, like it, guarded at either end by gateways, of which that on the further side has the remains of Moorish work in the arches which span it, and which have been already mentioned; it is finished with the Moorish battlement. This bridge has five arches, of which the largest is magnificent in scale—no less than 140 (Spanish) feet wide by 95 high. The arches are very light and lofty, and spring from grand piers, behind which the rocky defile is seen in its greatest grandeur. It seems to have been built in 1212, and repaired, the central arch being rebuilt,¹ by Archbishop Tenorio, *circa* 1339.

My notice of these various works has been, as it were, only the preface to the real glory of Toledo; for interesting and unique as some of them, and strange and novel as all of them are, there is a higher value and a greater charm about the noble metropolitan church of Spain than about any of them: a charm not due only to its religious and historical associations, but resulting just as much from its own intrinsic beauty as an example of the pure vigorous Gothic of the thirteenth century, such as when I left France on my first Spanish journey I supposed I should not see again till my eyes rested once more on Chartres, Notre Dame, Paris, or Amiens! Here, however, we have a church which is the equal in some respects of any of the great French churches; and I hardly know how to express my astonishment that such a building should be so little known, and that it should have been so insufficiently if not wrongly described whenever any attempt at a description has been made by English travellers who have visited it.

The cathedral is said to have occupied the present site before

¹ An inscription was put up in the time of Philip II. giving the history of the bridge, and stating that it had been rebuilt by Pedro Tenorio, the archbishop: "Pontem cujus ruinae in declivis alveo proxime visuntur, fluminis inundatione, quæ anno Domini mccciii. super ipsum excrevit, diruptum Toletani in hoc loco ædificaverunt. Imbecilla hominum consilia, quem jam annis lædere non poterat, Petro et Henrico fratribus pro regno contententibus interruptum, Petrus Tenorius archiepiscopus Toletan. reparandum curavit."

A quaint story is told of the building of this bridge. The architect whilst the work was going on perceived that as soon as the centres were removed the arches would fall, and confided his grief to his wife. She with woman's wit forthwith set fire to the centring, and when the whole fell together all the world attributed the calamity to the accident of the fire. When the bridge had been rebuilt again she avowed her proceeding, but Archbishop Tenorio, instead of making her husband pay the expenses, seems to have confined himself to complimenting him on the treasure he possessed in his wife.—Cean Bermudez, *Not. de los Arquos.*, etc., i. 79.

the capture of the city by the Moors.¹ They converted it into a mosque, and in course of time enlarged and adorned it greatly. At the capitulation to Alonso VI., in 1085, it was agreed that the Moors should still retain it; but this agreement was respected for a few months only, when the Christians, without the consent of the king, took it forcibly from them and had it consecrated as their cathedral.² Of this building nothing remains. The first stone of the new cathedral was laid with great ceremony by the king Don Fernando III., assisted by the Archbishop, on the 14th of August, A.D. 1227;³ and from that

¹ A stone was found in the sixteenth century with this inscription on it:—

IN NOMINE DNI CONSECRATA
ECCLESIA SÇTE MARIE
IN CATHOLICO DIE PRIMO
IDUS APRILIS ANNO FELI-
CITER PRIMO REGNI DNI
NOSTRI GLORIOSISSIMI H
RECCAREDI REGIS ERA
DCXXV

This stone is still preserved, and is interesting as a proof that a church was standing here in the year 587.

² Bernard, the first bishop, after the expulsion of the Moors, was sent from France, at the request of the king, by Hugo, Abbot of Cluny. The story of the seizure of the mosque is as follows: "Regina Constantia hortante de revete adscitis militibus Christianis, majorem Mezquilam ingressus est Toletanam, et eliminata spurcitia Mahometi, erexit altaria fidei Christianæ, et in majori turri campanas ad convocationem fidelium collocavit." The king came back forthwith in great wrath, determined to burn both queen and archbishop, and riding into the city was met by a crowd of Moors, to whom he cried out that no injury had been done to them, but only to him who had solemnly given his oath that their mosque should be preserved to them. They, however, prudently begged him to let them release him from his oath, whereat he had great joy, and riding on into the city the matter ended peacefully.—Archbishop Rodrigo, *De Rebus Hispaniæ*, lib. vi. cap. xxiii.

³ "In the era 1264 (A.D. 1226) the king D. Fernando, and the archbishop Don Rodrigo, laid the first stones in the foundation of the church of Toledo."—*Anales Toledanos III.* Salazar de Mendoza, in the prologue to the *Chronicle of Cardinal D. Pedro Gonzalez de Mendoza*, says that the function took place on the 14th Aug. 1227, the eve of the Assumption. The archbishop, in his *History*, lib. ix. cap. 13, says that the work was carried on to the great admiration of the people: "Et tunc jecerunt primum lapidem" (the Toledo MS. has lapides) "Rex et Archiepiscopus Rodericus in fundamento ecclesiæ Toletanæ, quæ in forma mexquita" (of a mosque) "à tempore Arabum adhuc stabat: ejus fabrica opere mirabili de die in diem non sine grandi admiratione hominum exaltatur." It is vexatious to find the archbishop who laid the first stone writing a history of his own times, and saying nothing throughout the entire volume beyond these few words about his cathedral. No one seems to be able to judge what will interest another age. Most of the archbishop's facts are rather insignificant, and what thanks would we not have given him for any information as to the building of one of the grandest churches of the age!—See his *History*—finished in 1243—in vol. iii. of *Coll. Patrum Ecc. Toletanæ*, Madrid, 1795.

time to the end of the seventeenth century additions to and alterations of the original fabric seem to have been constantly in hand.

The cathedral is built east and west, "according to the universal tradition of the Church," says Blas Ortiz, forgetting apparently that this is no tradition of the Roman Church. I think it is always attended to in Spain, save in cities like Barcelona, where the commercial intercourse with Italy perhaps introduced the Italian tradition. The feeling about the Orientation of churches was stronger among the English and Germans than anywhere else, and possibly the Spanish tradition dates from the time of the Visigothic kings.

It was the same king who laid the first stone of Burgos Cathedral in 1221, and it will be remembered that Maurice, the then Bishop of Burgos, is said to have been an Englishman, and had been Archdeacon of Toledo. Ferdinand's first wife was a daughter of the Duke of Suabia, his second a Frenchwoman. The name of the architect was preserved on his epitaph, which I copy from Blas Ortiz:—

"Aqui : jacet : Petrus Petri : magister
Eclesia : Scte : Marie : Toletani : fama :
Per exemplum : pro more : huic : bona :
Crescit : qui presens : templum : construxit :
Et hic quiescit : quod : quia : tan : mire :
Fecit : vili : sentiat : ire : ante : Dei :
Vultum : pro : quo : nil : restat : inultum :
Et sibi : sis : merce : qui solus : cuncta :
Coherce : obiit : x dias de Novembris :
Era : de m : et cccxxviii (A.D. 1290)."

I did not see this inscription, and am unable to say, therefore, whether it is original; but I believe there is little doubt of this.¹ I should have much more doubt as to the nationality of the architect. The Spanish writers all talk of him as "*Pedro Perez*;" but as the Latin inscription is the only authority for his name, he may as fairly be called Pierre de Pierre, and so become a Frenchman; and I cannot help thinking that this is, on the whole, very much more likely than that he should have been a Spaniard (23). This, at any rate, is certain: the first architect of Toledo, whether he were French or Spanish, was thoroughly well acquainted with the best French churches, and could not otherwise have done what he did. In Spain itself there was, as I have said before, nothing to lead gradually

¹ It is preserved in the Chapel of S. Catherine.—See Blas Ortiz, *Summi Templi Toletani graphica Descriptio*.

to the full development of the pointed style. We find, on the contrary, buildings, planned evidently by foreign hands, rising suddenly, without any connection with other buildings in their own district, and yet with most obvious features of similarity to works in other countries erected just before them. Such, I have shown, is the case with the cathedrals at Burgos, at Leon, and at Santiago, and such even more decidedly is the case here. Moreover, in Toledo, if anywhere, was such a circumstance as this to be expected. In this part of Spain there was in the thirteenth century no trained school of native artists. Even after the conquest the Moors continued, as has been said before, to act as architects for Christian buildings whether secular or ecclesiastical, and, indeed, to monopolise all the science and art of the country which they no longer ruled. In such a state of things, I can imagine nothing more natural than that, though the Toledans may have been well content to employ Mohammedan art in their ordinary works, yet, when it came to be a question of rebuilding their cathedral on a scale vaster than anything which had as yet been attempted, they would be anxious to adopt some distinctly Christian form of art; and, lacking entirely any school of their own, would be more likely to secure the services of a Frenchman than of any one else; whilst the French archbishop, who at the time occupied the see, would be of all men the least likely to sympathise with Moresque work, and the most anxious to employ a French artist. But, however this may have been, the church is thoroughly French in its ground-plan and equally French in all its details¹ for some height from the ground; and it is not until we reach the triforium of the choir that any other influence is visible; but even here the work is French work, only slightly modified by some acquaintance with Moorish art, and not to such an extent as to be recognised as Moresque anywhere else but here in the close neighbourhood of so much which suggests the probability

¹ I venture to speak with great positiveness about some features of detail. It is possible enough that architects in various countries may develop from one original—say from a Lombard original—groups of buildings which shall have a general similarity. They may increase this similarity by travel. But in each country certain conventionalities have been introduced in the designing of details which it is most rare to see anywhere out of the country which produced them. Such, *e.g.*, are the delicate differences between the French and English bases of the thirteenth century, nay even between the bases in various parts of the present French empire. These differences are so delicate that it is all but impossible to explain them; yet no one who has carefully studied them will doubt, when he sees a French moulding used throughout a building, that French artists had much to do with its design.

of its being so. The whole work is, indeed, a grand protest against Mohammedan architecture, and I doubt whether any city in the middle ages can show anything so distinctly intended and so positive in its opposition to what was being done at the same time by other architects as this. It is just what we see at the present day, and we owe an incidental debt of gratitude to this old architect for showing us that in the thirteenth century, just as much as in the nineteenth, it was possible for an artist to believe in the fitness and religiousness of one style as contrasted with another, and steadily to ignore the fantastic conceits of the vernacular architecture of the day and place in favour of that which he knew to be purer and truer, more lovely and more symbolical.

From A.D. 1290, the date of the death of the first architect, to A.D. 1425, I have not met with the name of any architect of this cathedral; but from that year to the end of the last century the complete list is known and published,¹ and contains of course many well-known names.

The plan of the cathedral is set out on an enormous scale, as will be seen by the table of comparative dimensions which I give below, as well as by comparison with the other plans in this volume.² In width it is scarcely exceeded by any church of its age, Milan and Seville cathedrals—neither of them possessing

¹ Cean Bermudez, *Arq. de Esp.*, etc., i. 253-254, and *Bellas Artes en España*, passim.

²

—	Width in clear of Walls		Length in clear	Width of Nave from c to c of Columns.	
	feet	in.	feet	feet	in.
Toledo * . . .	178	0	395	50	6
Milan † . . .	186	0	475	63	0
Cologne † . . .	130	0	405	44	0
Paris * . . .	110	0	400	48	0
Bourges * . . .	128	0	370	49	0
Troyes * . . .	124	0	395	50	0
Chartres § . . .	100	0	430	50	0
Amiens ‡ . . .	100	0	435	49	0
Reims § . . .	95	0	430	48	0
Lincoln § . . .	80	0	468	45	0
York § . . .	106	0	486	52	0
Westminster § .	75	0	505	38	0

* Five aisles, exclusive of chapels between buttresses. † Five aisles.

‡ Three aisles, exclusive of chapels between buttresses. § Three aisles.

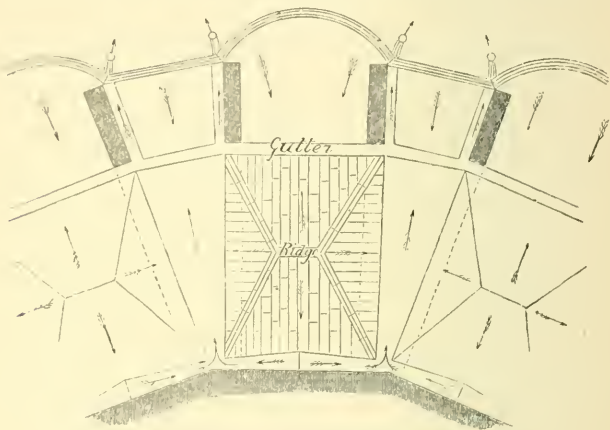
any other great claim to respect—being, I think, the only larger churches in Christendom; and the area covered by the cloisters, chapels, and dependencies of Toledo, being on the same large scale, is of course in excess altogether of Milan, which has none. The original plan consisted of a nave with double aisles on either side, seven bays in length; transepts of the same projection as the aisles; a choir of one bay; and the chevet formed by an apse to the choir of five bays, with the double aisles continued round it, and small chapels—alternately square and circular in plan—between the buttresses in its outer wall. Two western towers were to have been erected beyond the west ends of the outer aisles;¹ and there were grand entrances in each transept, and three doorways at the west end. The great cloister on the north side, and all the chapels throughout (save two or three of the small chapels already mentioned, which still remain in the apse), are later additions. Scarcely a fragment of the lower and visible part of the exterior of the cathedral has been left untouched by the destructive hands of the architects of the last three centuries; and the consequence is, that it is after all only the interior of this noble church that is so magnificent, there being very little indeed that is either attractive or interesting on the exterior. There is absolutely no good general view to be had of it; for a network of narrow winding lanes encompasses the building on all sides, leaving no open space anywhere, save at the west end; and here the exterior has been so much altered as to deprive the view of its value. I had some difficulty in mounting to the roof, the canon in authority sternly and rudely refusing me permission; but as the sacristan considered that I had done my duty in asking, and that the canon had exceeded his in refusing, in the end he took me everywhere.

¹ The north-west tower only was built, and this long after the original foundation of the church (*i.e. circa* 1380-1440). Blas Ortiz, speaking of the foundation of the Mozarabic chapel at the west end of the opposite (south) aisle, says it was placed “in extrema Templi parte, ubi cœptæ turris fundamenta surgebant.” The four western bays of the nave are no doubt rather later in date than the rest of the church, but they follow the same general design, and are not distinguishable on the ground-plan. My ground-plan of this enormous cathedral is deficient in some details; but my readers will pardon any departure from absolute accuracy in every part when they consider how much useless labour the representation of every detail entails in such a work, and how impossible it would be for any one without a great deal of time at his disposal to do more than I have done. I am not aware that any plan of this cathedral has ever before been published. I omitted to examine a detached chapel—that I believe of the “Reyes Nuevos”—but with this exception, I think my plan shows the whole of the old portion of the work quite accurately.

We ascended by a staircase in the archbishop's palace, which leads by a gallery thrown over the road to the upper cloister. This extends above the whole of the great cloister, and has a timber roof carried on stone shafts, which appear by their mouldings to be of the fifteenth century. This upper cloister is entirely surrounded by houses occupied, some by clergy, and some by the servants of the church, and where little choristers in red *capotes* and white laced albs run about playing in their spare moments. Nothing that I have met with in Spain exceeds the intolerable stench which everywhere pervades these ecclesiastical tenements! But the look-out is rather pleasant, for the cloister court is planted thickly with fine shrubs and trees which shoot up as high as the top of the walls.

The exterior of the church, seen from this point, is altogether in a great mess—no other word so well describes its state! So far as I could make it out, I think the original mode of roofing the church was as follows: the aisle next the nave was covered with a timber roof sloping down from the clerestory windows; whilst the outer aisle and the chapels beyond it were roofed with stone roofs laid to a flat pitch, and sloping down to a stone gutter between the two, which again carried the water east and west till it discharged in a pipe through each buttress. In place of this, a gabled roof now covers both aisles with a gutter against the clerestory and overhanging eaves on the outside. The main roofs were probably steep and tiled; that of the choir appears to have been carried on stone columns or piers, in front of which was the parapet, so that there was a current of air throughout. In the apse I was able to see my way a little more clearly; for here the stone roofs of the chapels and outer aisle are still perfect, and most ingeniously contrived, as the accompanying diagram will explain. Here again I was unable to find out what was the original roof of the inner aisle; but it was possibly of stone like the others, though my impression on the spot was that it must have been of wood, and covered with tiles. The diagram shows the roof over one of the circular and two of the square chapels of the apse, and the three corresponding bays of the outer choir aisle. The triangular bays and square chapels have stone roofs sloping down to a gutter between them; whilst the bay between them had a square roof sloping slightly all ways, and over the outer chapel a roof sloping back to the same gutter. The water is all carried away by stone channel-drains to the outside of the walls. The whole of this contrivance is now obscured by an extraordinary jumble of tiled roofs one over the other, added, I

suppose, from time to time as the original roof required repair.¹ There are double flying-buttresses wherever there are transverse arches in the groining. These were altered in the fifteenth century by the addition of a fringe of cusping on the edge of their copings, which of course spoilt their effect, though this is not of much consequence now, as they are never seen. The nave also has double flying-buttresses; and its clerestory and triforium were thrown into one, and large windows inserted, in the fourteenth century in place of the original work. The only



STONE ROOF OF OUTER AISLE AND CHAPELS, TOLEDO

portion of the original external walls of the aisle that I could see was on the south side of the choir. Here in the apse chapels there are good and rather wide lancet-windows with engaged shafts in the jambs, well moulded, and labels adorned with dog-tooth. The old termination of the buttresses seems to be everywhere destroyed. The flying-buttresses in the apse were finely managed. Owing to the arrangement of the plan two flying-buttresses

¹ The account given by Blas Ortiz (who wrote his description of the cathedral in the time of Philip II.) ought to be given here, because it seems to show that in his time the roofs were not entirely covered with stone, but, as at present, with tile roofs in some parts above the stone. "Ecclesiæ testudines," he says, "candidæ sunt, muniunt eas, et ab imbris aliisque incommodis protegent tabulata magna (sive contignationes) artificiose composita, fulcris statura hominis altioribus suffulta, tecta que partim tegulis, partim lateribus ac planis lapidibus. Turriculæ lapideæ in modum pyramidum erectæ, e singulis (inquam) pilis per totum ædificium exeunt, quæ sacram Basilicam extrinsecus pulcherrimam faciunt."—*Descrip. Temp. Toletani*, cap. xxi.

support each of the main piers, and they are double in height. Their arches are moulded with a very bold roll-moulding, with a smaller one on either side, and the piers which receive them are faced with coupled shafts with carved capitals. The arrangement of the buttresses follows exactly (and of necessity) the planning of the principal transverse arches of the groining. From each angle of the apse there are two flying-buttresses; these each abut against a pinnacle, which is again supported by two diverging flying-buttresses. It might be expected that the effect would be confused, as it is in the somewhat similar plan of the chevet of Le Mans; but here the buttresses and pinnacles seem to have been less prominent, and therefore to have interfered less with the general outline of the church which they support. The pinnacles to the buttresses of the central apse are tolerably perfect, but they appear to be not earlier than the fifteenth century. Those of the intermediate aisle are all destroyed, but many of those in the outer aisle still remain. The chapel of San Ildefonso, too, beyond the chevet, retains its pinnacles and parapets; and behind these rises a flat-pitched tiled roof, which, as everywhere else throughout the cathedral, has the air of being a modern substitute for the old roof: undoubtedly the whole work wants steep roofs to make it equal in effect to the French churches from which it was derived, and in which this feature is usually so marked.


The external mouldings of the windows in this part of the church are very good, and of the best early-pointed work; among others I saw that the external label of the rose-window in the north transept is filled with quaint crockets formed of dogs' heads projecting from the hollow member of the moulding.

All these remains of the original design of the early church can only be seen by ascending to the roofs; and as they illustrate the most interesting portion of the whole work, I have taken them first in order.

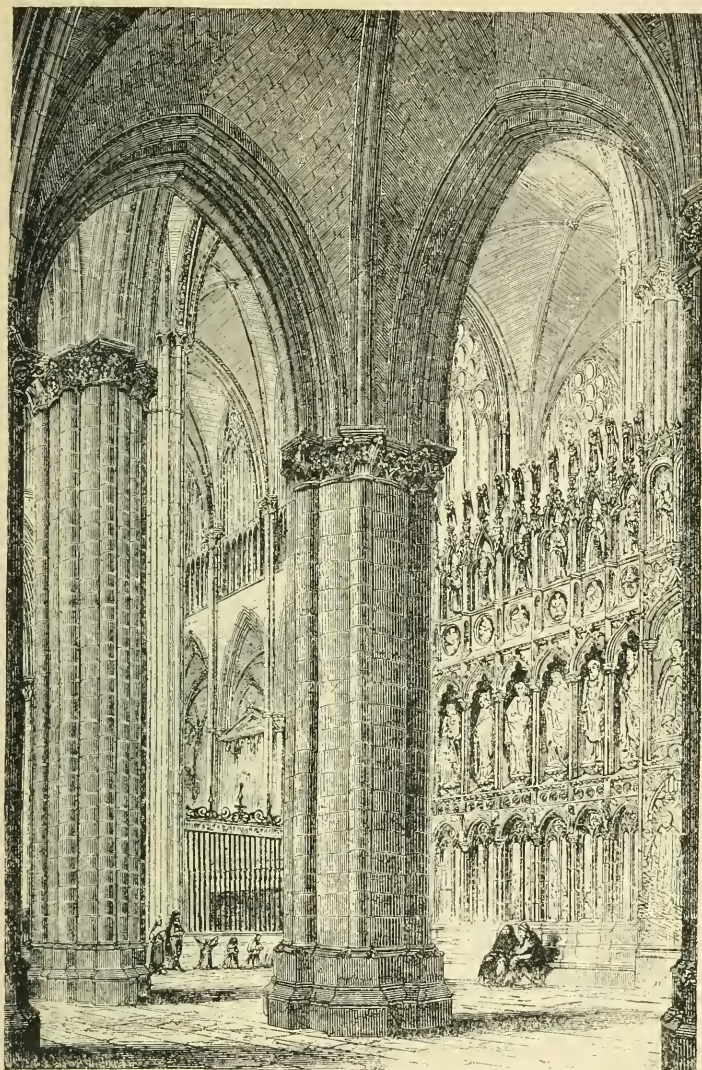
It is now time to take the rest of the fabric in hand; and for this purpose it will be necessary to confine myself henceforth almost entirely to the interior. The doorways will be mentioned further on, because they are all additions to, and not coeval with, the original fabric; and, similarly, the window-traceries—except in the case of one or two of the apse windows, and the openings of the triforium and clerestory of the choir—are none of them original.

The first view of the interior is very impressive. The entrance most used is that to which the narrow, picturesque, and steep

Calle de la Chapineria leads—that of the north transept. The buildings on the east side of the cloister rise on the right hand, and chief among them the fine fifteenth-century chapel of San Pedro, which, in entire contempt of all rules as to orientation, runs north and south, and opens into the aisle of the church by a sumptuous archway. Near the end of this chapel an old and very lofty iron *grille* crosses the road; and passing through this, and by the group of beggars ever clustered round it, the fine fourteenth-century north doorway, rich in sculpture, is passed, and the transept is reached. The view across this, as is usually the case in Spain, is the great view of the church; for here only is there any really grand expanse of unoccupied floor, and without such a space real magnificence of effect can never be secured. The view hence into the double aisles round the choir, across the gorgeously decorated Capilla mayor, and down the side aisles of the nave, is truly noble, and open, I think, to but one criticism, viz., that it is somewhat wanting in height. Judged by English examples, its height is unusually great; but all the other dimensions are so enormous that one requires more than ordinary height, and the vast size of the columns throughout the church, as well as the fact that most of the perspectives are those of the side aisles, which are of necessity low, gives perhaps an impression of lowness to the whole which is certainly not justified by the measurement in feet and inches of the central vault.

 If my readers will refer to the engraving of the ground-plan, they will be struck by the extreme simplicity and uniformity of the original outline of the cathedral, and the entire absence of all excrescences, whether of transepts or chapels. In this respect it is not a little like some of the finest French examples, such as Notre Dame, Paris, and Bourges, and extremely unlike the ordinary early Spanish plan, in which the transepts, the lantern, and the three eastern apses are always distinctly and emphatically marked. Here the excrescences are all later additions. The chapels of the chevet were very small, and almost contained within the semicircle which forms its outline. There is no lantern, and the transepts are hardly recognised on the ground-plan. The aim of the great French architects of the period was to reduce their work to an almost classic simplicity and uniformity; and their ambition was evidently shared by the architect who presided over the erection of this Cathedral at Toledo.

Let us now examine with some minuteness the arrangement of the plan of the chevet. This is rightly the first point to be



TOLEDO CATHEDRAL
INTERIOR OF TRANSEPT, ETC., LOOKING NORTH-WEST

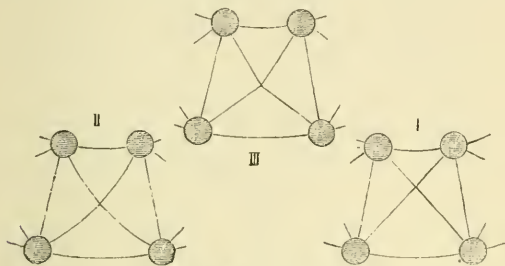
considered; for this is always the keynote, so to speak, of the whole scheme of such a church; and it is here that the surest evidence is afforded of what I believe to be the foreign origin of the design; for not even in details is there anything by which it is more easy in some cases to trace the origin of an old church than in the general scheme of the ground-plan; and in large churches the plan of the chevet is that which regulates every other part. To this part therefore I must now address myself.

In the twelfth and thirteenth centuries the ingenuity of the greatest French architects—the greatest school perhaps the world has ever seen—was taxed to the utmost to devise means for obviating all the difficulties attendant on the plan of an apse with an aisle or aisles continued round it.¹ The arrangement of the central vault is easy enough; but the great flying-buttresses which support this have to be carried in part on the columns which form the divisions of the aisles surrounding the apse. From the centre of the apse, therefore, a number of lines drawn through its angles represent the lines of the flying-buttresses, and mark the position for the outer orders of columns. These lines diverge so rapidly from each other that the compartments enclosed within them become extremely irregular in their outline; and this renders it very difficult to cover them with vaults which shall look thoroughly well, and in which the arched ribs shall not be crippled or irregular in their lines. The French architects had from the first realised the necessity for making the diagonal vaulting rib a semicircle. They saw that the line thus obtained was a continuous line of the utmost value, leading the eye on in succession from one bay of vaulting to another without any interruption—gradually from one end of the vastest vault to the other. Whenever this form is given up the effect of vaulting is half destroyed: and it matters not whether we turn to the domical pointed vaults of the Angevine architects, or the vaults of some of our own cathedrals, with their pointed diagonal ribs, we shall at once see how inferior they are to the old French mode.² In these unequal vaulting bays in the apse

¹ M. Viollet le Duc's articles in the *Dictionnaire de l'Architecture Française* on the planning of French churches are extremely valuable, as indeed is all that he writes; and I take the opportunity afforded me by the aid which he has thus given me in the consideration of this question, to express the gratitude which I suppose every student of Christian art feels for what he has done towards promoting its right study.

² That ingenious form of vault invented by modern plasterers, in which the transverse arch gives all the data for the shape of the diagonal rib, which is consequently neither a true pointed arch, nor a true curve of any kind, is, of course, the worst of all forms; and it might be thought unneces-

it was impossible to make a straight diagonal rib a semicircle, for then (I) the highest part of the vault would be higher than the intersection of the ribs, and the connection of the intersection with the highest part of the transverse arch would be extremely bad, and all but unmanageable. To get over this difficulty, we find the architect of Bourges (A.D. 1230) planning his diagonal ribs on a curve (II); whilst at Chartres (A.D. 1220) the architect planned this rib on a broken line (III). The architect of the choir of Le Mans (just later in date than Chartres—*circa* A.D. 1230) improved enormously upon what his brethren had done by the introduction of a triangular compartment in the outer aisle, which enabled him to make the vaulting bays between them nearly square, and to obtain a light between each



DIAGRAMS OF VAULTING

of the chapels of the apse, which vastly increased its beauty. The architect of Bourges had indeed introduced triangular-vaulting compartments in his outer aisle, but so clumsily, that he had increased rather than diminished the difficulty with which he was dealing; and the earlier architect of Notre Dame, Paris (A.D. 1170), had ingeniously planned almost all the vaults of his apse in triangular compartments, with great gain over the systems of those who had preceded him; but his plan had the grave defect of placing a column behind the eastern central arch of the apse, and so stopping all view eastward from the choir. It remained for the architect of Toledo Cathedral to resolve all these difficulties by a disposition of his columns so ingenious and so admirable as to be certainly beyond all praise.

sary to utter a protest against it, were it not that we see some of our best modern buildings disfigured beyond measure by its introduction. Nothing is simpler than a good vault. The best rule for it is to make a good diagonal arch and a good transverse arch, and the filling in of the cells is pretty sure to take care of itself.

His plan looks indeed simple and very obvious; yet how many attempts had been made in vain to accomplish what he did; and how completely has he not overcome all his contemporaries! I hold it to be in the highest degree improbable that any one could have devised this improvement who had not been actively engaged in the study of the French Cathedrals.¹ No churches exist in Spain which in the least degree lead up to the solution of the problems involved. And indeed almost at the same time that this church was commenced, we have Spaniards at work at other churches, as, *e.g.*, at Lérida and Tarragona, in an entirely different and in a much more primitive style. The architect therefore—if he was a Spaniard—was one who had spent much time upon French buildings; but was much more probably a Frenchman, who also, unless I am mistaken, brought with him some of his countrymen to direct the sculpture of the capitals, etc., which, as well as the mouldings, are thoroughly good, pure examples of French Gothic of the date.

The engraving of the plan will best explain the beauty of the arrangement of the chevet.² There are twice as many columns between the aisles as there are round the central apse, and the points of support in the outer wall are again double the number of the columns between the aisles. The alternate bays throughout are thus roofed with triangular compartments, and the remaining bays are, as nearly as possible, perfectly rectangular, whilst the vista from west to east is perfectly preserved, and the distance from centre to centre of the outer row of columns is, as nearly as possible, the same as that of the inner order. The outer wall of the aisle was occupied alternately by small square chapels opposite the triangular vaulting compartments, and circular chapels opposite the others. Very few of these remain unaltered; but the sketch and plan which I give will show what their character was. The analogy of the small chapels in the chevets of Paris, Bourges, and Chartres, would seem to prove that originally there was no larger chapel at the east end, and the similar arrangement of the vaulting compartments throughout seems to confirm this view.

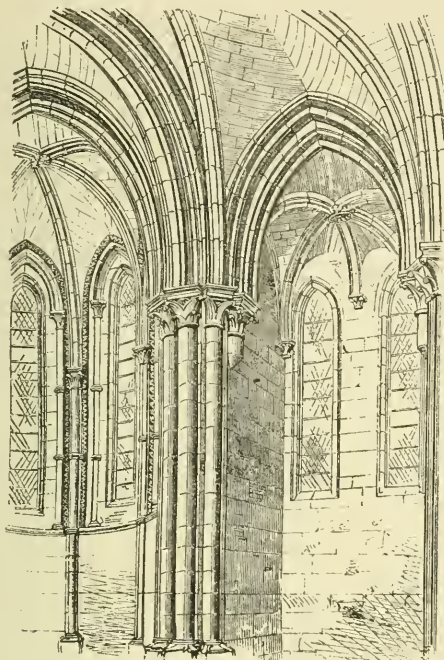
In the eastern portion of the church a good deal of dog-tooth enrichment is introduced. I have noticed the same fact in the account of Burgos Cathedral, and suggested that it was imported there from Anjou. Here, however, the architect clearly knew

¹ I refer my readers to chapter xx. for an account of the curious likeness between this plan and one by Wilars de Honecourt.

² Plate XIV., p. 346.

not much, if anything, of Angevine buildings, and probably borrowed the dog-tooth from Burgos, though of the other peculiarities of detail in that church I see no trace.

The planning of the whole church was uniform throughout. The columns are all circular, surrounded by engaged shafts,



CHAPELS OF THE CHEVET. TOLEDO CATHEDRAL

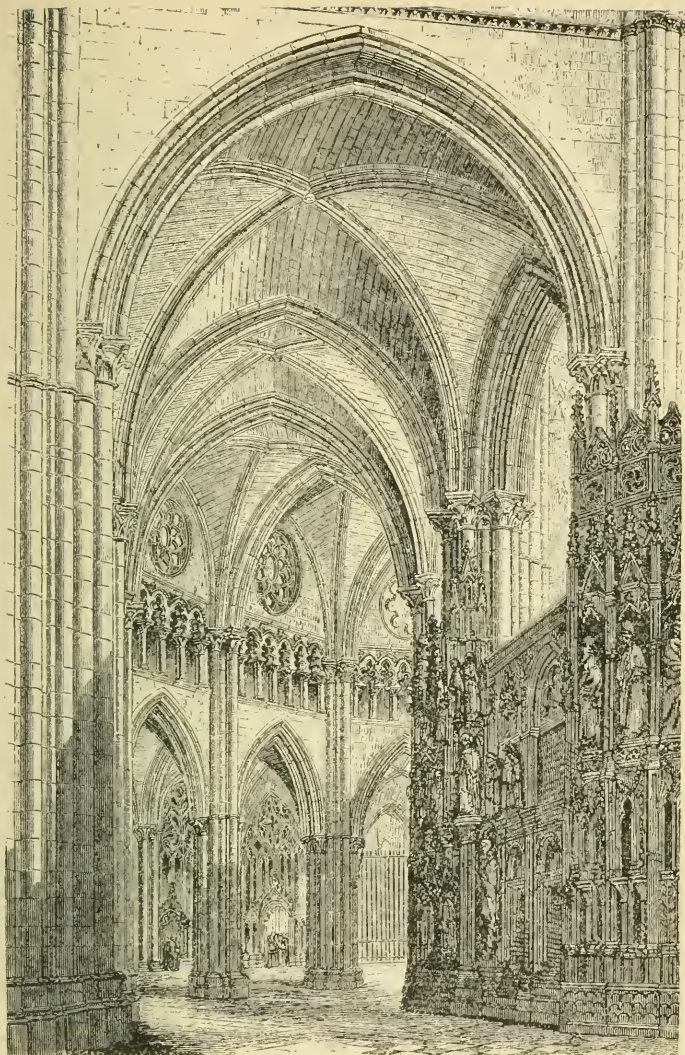
which, in the great piers in the transept, are trefoiled in section. There do not appear to have been chapels anywhere in the side walls of the nave, save on the south side of the south aisle, where the chapel of Sta. Lucia appears to be of the same age as the church, and is recorded to have been founded by Archbishop Rodrigo, with an endowment for two chaplains to say masses for the soul of Alonso VI.¹ This chapel has triple groining-shafts in the angles, a good triplet, with dog-tooth and engaged

¹ *Toledo Pintoresca*, p. 87.

jamb-shafts, in the south wall, and a window of two lancets, with a circle in the head, in the east wall. On the west side of this chapel is an extremely rich recessed arch in stucco, of late Moorish work—a curious contrast to the fine pointed work of the chapel.

The original scheme of the church is only to be seen now in the choir and its aisles. These are arranged in three gradations of height—the choir being upwards of a hundred feet, the aisle round it about sixty feet, and the outer aisle about thirty-five feet¹ in height. The outer wall of the aisle is pierced with arches for the small chapels between the buttresses, the design and planning of which are shown clearly in the illustration which I give. The intermediate aisle has in its outer wall a triforium, formed by an arcade of cusped arches; and above this, quite close to the point of the vault, a rose window in each bay. It is in this triforium that the first evidence of any knowledge on the part of the architect of Moorish architecture strikes the eye. The cusping of the arcade is not enclosed within an arch, and takes a distinctly horseshoe outline, the lowest cusp near to the cap spreading inwards at the base. Now, it would be impossible to imagine any circumstance which could afford better evidence of the foreign origin of the first design than this slight concession to the customs of the place in a slightly later portion of the works. An architect who came from France, bent on designing nothing but a French church, would be very likely, after a few years' residence in Toledo, somewhat to change in his views, and to attempt something in which the Moorish work, which he was in the habit of seeing, would have its influence. The detail of this triforium is, notwithstanding, all pure and good; the foliage of the capitals is partly conventional, and, in part, a stiff imitation of natural foliage, somewhat after the fashion of the work in the Chapter-house at Southwell; the abaci are all square; there is a profusion of nail-heads used in the labels; and well-carved heads are placed in each of the spandrels of the arcade. The circular windows above the triforium are filled in with cusping of various patterns. The main arches of the innermost arcade (between the choir and its aisle) are, of course, much higher than the others. The space above them is occupied by an arcaded triforium, reaching to the springing of the main vault. This arcade consists of a series of trefoil-headed arches on detached

¹ I take the height of nave from Blas Ortiz. He gives the dimensions of the church in Spanish feet as follows: Length, 404; breadth, 202; height, 116 feet.



TOLEDO CATHEDRAL
INTERIOR OF NORTH AISLE OF CHOIR

shafts, with sculptured figures, more than life-size, standing in each division; in the spandrels above the arches are heads looking out from moulded circular openings, and above these again, small pointed arches are pierced, which have labels enriched with the nail-head ornament. The effect of the whole of this upper part of the design is unlike that of northern work, though the detail is all pure and good. The clerestory occupies the height of the vault, and consists of a row of lancets (there are five in the widest bay, and three in each of the five bays of the apse) rising gradually to the centre, with a small circular opening above them. The vaulting-ribs in the central division of the apse are chevroned, and, as will be seen on the plan, increased in number, this being the only portion of the early work in which any, beyond transverse and diagonal ribs, are introduced. There is a weakness and want of purpose about the treatment of this highest portion of the wall that seems to make it probable that the work, when it reached this height, had passed out of the hands of the original architect. It is strange that, so far as I have been able to learn, no record exists of the date of the consecration of the church; so that it is quite impossible to give, with certainty, the date at which any part of it had been finished and covered in. In the nave the original design (if it was ever completed) has been altered. There is now no trace of the original clerestory and triforium which are still seen in the choir; and in their place the outer aisle has fourteenth-century windows of six lights, with geometrical tracery, and the clerestory of the nave and transepts great windows, also of six lights, with very elaborate traceries. They have transomes (which in some degree preserve the recollection of the old structural divisions) at the level of the springing of the groining. The groining throughout the greater part of the church seems to be of the original thirteenth-century work, with ribs finely moulded, and vaulting cells slightly domical in section. The capitals of the columns are all set in the direction of the arches and ribs they carry, and their abaci and bases are all square in plan.

The great rose-window of the north transept, though later, is not much more so than the work I have been describing. It has an outer ring of twelve cusped circles, six within these, and one in the centre. The whole is filled with old glass. The centre circle has the Crucifixion; the six circles round it S. Mary, S. John, and four Angels; and the outer circles figures of the twelve greater prophets, pointing towards our Lord. The

ground of the centre circles within the cusps is a light pure blue, and the cusps are filled with conventional foliage. The whole is fastened to rings of iron, in the usual way, and is the best example of stained glass now remaining in the cathedral.

The works undertaken here in the fourteenth century were very considerable. The north doorway, the doorway of S. Catherine, leading from the cloisters; the clerestory in the nave and nave-aisles and transepts, and probably the whole of the four western bays of the nave; the screens round the Coro, the chapel of San Ildefonso, and some other portions, were all of this period; and the dates of many of them being certain, they give admirable opportunities for the study of the detail of the Spanish middle-pointed style. The north door has three statues in each jamb, and a central figure of the Blessed Virgin and our Lord. The arch has in its three orders different orders of angels, and the tympanum is divided into four spaces by horizontal divisions, containing the following subjects: (1) The Annunciation, the Salutation, the Nativity, the Adoration of the Magi, the Massacre of the Innocents; (2) the Presentation, the Dispute with the Doctors, the Flight into Egypt; (3) the Marriage at Cana continued all across; and (4) the Death of the Blessed Virgin Mary. The whole is good work at the end of the fourteenth century. The doorway of S. Catherine, which opens into the cloister, is mainly remarkable for its elaborate mouldings, but has a central figure of the saint and two others standing on capitals, and under canopies, on either side of the doorway. The arch is crocketed and covered with a profusion of small carving, and with coats-of-arms of Castile and Leon. The label is crocketed, and between the doorway and the vault of the cloister a rose window and two windows of two lights each are picturesquely grouped. The other great doorways are almost all modernised and uninteresting.

The screen round the Coro is a feature of as great interest as any in the church. It encloses the whole of the two eastern bays of the nave; and, as far as I could judge by the way in which it finishes against the transept column, where the old work ends abruptly, and is completed with a later carving of lions and castles, it seems possible that it crossed the transepts and completely shut them out from the choir. There is, however, no certain evidence of this; and the main fact proved is that from the very first the choir-stalls were locally in the nave. In a plan such as this, with an extremely short choir, founded evidently, like so many of the Spanish churches, on the plan of the great

Abbey of Cîteaux, it must, from the first, have been intended that this should be the arrangement; but, as I have observed before, the present use of the choir and the old use are unlike in the only point in which the Spanish plan is distinctly national. For, in the western face of this old screen, the doorway into the choir remains; and this has since been blocked up, in order to put the archbishop's throne in the centre of the west end of the Coro, the only access to which is now from the transept crossing through the eastern Reja or screen. The screen-work is continued on round the apse, but much mutilated by Berruguetesque and other alterations, the work of which at the east, behind the altar, is the worst in the world—*el trasparente*—where angels, clouds, and rays of light, all painfully executed in marble, are lighted by a big hole, wickedly pierced right through the old thirteenth-century vault!

The nave-screen consists of an arcade filled with rich tracery, and carried upon marble and jasper shafts (said, but on what authority I know not,¹ to have come from the seventh-century Basilica of Sta. Leocadia). The wall above the capitals is divided by pinnacles; between each of which is a niche containing a subject sculptured in high relief under a canopy. The detail of the whole is of the richest kind of middle-pointed, and altogether very similar in the amount of work and delicacy of design to the arcades round some of the richest of our own buildings, as, for instance, round the Chapter-house at Ely. The sculptures are many of them admirable, full of the natural incidents so loved by, and the *naïveté* so characteristic of, the best mediæval sculptors of their age. I give a complete list of these subjects in the Appendix, and strongly recommend careful study of them to those who visit Toledo. I feel the more bound to do this, because in all the Spanish guide-books they will find them spoken of with the utmost contempt, whilst all the praise is reserved for a vile gilt creation by Berruguete, which has taken the place of the three central western subjects over the choir-door, and for two statues of Innocence and Sin, which seem to me to be innocent of art, and to sin against nature!

In addition to the western doorway there were four others in these screens, two on the north and two on the south; these opened into small chapels contrived in the space left between the screen just described, outside the columns, and the wooden screen inside the columns and behind the choir-stalls.

The screen on the south side of the apse—the remains of

¹ *Compendio del Toledo en la Mano*, p. 182.

what no doubt once went all round it—is even more elaborate than that round the Coro: it is pierced below, so that the altar may be seen, and has large statues of saints above, and an open-gabled parapet, finished with angels everywhere, and truly a most gorgeous work! This is in the south-west arch of the choir only, a late flamboyant screen having been added afterwards beyond it to the east, whilst on the north side a Berruguetesque monument has taken the place of the old screen.

The last great middle-pointed feature is the chapel of San Ildefonso, at the extreme east end of the church. It is a most elaborate work, groined with an eight-sided vault; its windows and arches full of rich mouldings, and enriched by ball flowers and some of the other devices commonly seen in our own work of the same age. Each side of this chapel had an elaborate tomb with an arched recess in the wall over it, surmounted by a gabled canopy between pinnacles, and under which sculptured subjects are introduced.¹ These tombs were evidently all erected at the same time, and help to make the *tout ensemble* of the chapel very rich and striking. A string-course is carried round above them; and above this there are large traceried windows, alternately of three and four lights. The vaulting-ribs are treated in an unusual and rather effective way, being fringed with a series of cusps on their under side, which give great richness to the general effect. There are small triangular vaulting compartments in the two western angles, which are necessary in order to bring the main vault to a true octagon in plan.

The works added in the fifteenth century were both numerous and important. The cloister and chapel of San Blas, on its north side, are the first in importance. They owe their origin, indeed, to the previous century, the first stone having been laid on the 14th of August, A.D. 1389, by Archbishop Tenorio,² Rodrigo

¹ The western bay, on the north side, has a monument with a gable, and the spandrels between it and the side pinnacles crowded with tracery mainly composed of cusped circles. The second bay, counting from the north-west, has in the tympanum over the cusped arch figures of the twelve apostles; and over them, our Lord, with angels holding candles and censers on either side. The monument in the third bay has figures of twelve saints, and above them the coronation of the Blessed Virgin Mary. The fourth or eastern bay has a modern altar, which conceals completely the old work. The fifth bay has a Renaissance tomb of a bishop. The sixth, the same monument as in the second and third bays, with figures of twelve female saints, and above them the Resurrection and the Last Judgment. The seventh bay corresponds with the first, which is opposite it; and the eighth bay contains the arch of communication with the choir aisle.

² Archbishop Don Pedro Tenorio was one of the most munificent of the archbishops of Toledo. In addition to the cloister and chapel of San Blas

Alfonso being the master of the works. In the chapel is a fine monument of the archbishop; and in the cloister walls a door which, in the capricious cusping and crocketing of its traceried work, illustrates the extreme into which the Spanish architects of this age ran in their elaboration of detail and affectation of novelty. The traceries of the whole of the windows of the cloister are destroyed, but the groining remains, and the proportions and scale of the whole work are both very fine.

The west front was commenced in A.D. 1418, and the north-west tower in A.D. 1425, one Alvar Gomez being the architect employed upon them; and in A.D. 1479 the upper part of the west front was completed; but the whole of this was again repaired and altered in A.D. 1777, so that now it presents little if anything really worthy of notice. The circular west window seems to be of the earlier half of the fourteenth century, and the later works were carried out in front of it. Between this window and the gable of the great doorway is an enormous sculpture of the Last Supper: the table extends from buttress to buttress; and our Lord and the Apostles sit each in a great niche. The steeple is certainly rather imposing in outline: a simple square tower at the base, and for some 170 feet from the ground, it is then changed to an octagon with bold turrets and pinnacles; and above this is a low spire, chiefly to be noticed for the three rows of metal rays which project from its sides. The upper part of the steeple was built when Alonso Covarrubias was the master of the works, but rebuilt after a fire in A.D. 1660.¹

The chapel of Santiago, to the north-east of the chevet, was another great work of this period. It is similar in plan to that of San Ildefonso, by the side of which it is built, and has in its centre a grand high tomb, carrying recumbent effigies of the Constable D. Alvaro de Luna and his wife Doña Juana.² Each of

he is said to have built the castle of San Servando, the bridge of San Martin, and the convent of Mercenarios in Toledo. Besides which he built castles and forts on the frontier of the kingdom of Granada, and erected the town of Villafraanca with its famous bridge "del Arzobispo."

¹ There are twelve bells, of which the largest is San Eugenio. There are some old lines which show its fame:—

" Campaña la de Toledo,
Iglesia la de Leon,
Reloj el de Benavente,
Rollos los de Villalon."

² It is said that a number of designs were sent in competition for this monument, and that from among them that of Pablo Ortiz was selected, and a contract entered into for its erection on January 7th, 1489.—*Bellas Artes en España*, iii. 284.

the tombs has life-size kneeling figures, one at each angle, looking towards the tomb, and angels holding coats-of-arms—that most unangelic of operations, as it always seems to me—in panels on the sides. Here, as in the chapel of San Ildefonso, the sides of the chapel were each provided with a great canopied tomb, whilst on one side a mediæval carved and painted wooden Retablo to an altar conceals the original altar arrangement. The exterior of this chapel is finished with a battlement and circular overhanging turrets at the angles; above which is a tiled roof of flat pitch. Don Alvaro de Luna died in A.D. 1453, and his wife in A.D. 1448; and the chapel bears evidence in the “perpendicular” character of its panelling, arcading, and crocketing, of the poverty of the age in the matter of design. At this period, indeed, the designers were sculptors rather than architects, and thought of little but the display of their own manual dexterity.

I have already described the external screens of the Coro. Its internal fittings must not be forgotten, being very full of interest, and of much magnificence. The lower range of stalls all round (fifty in number) are the work of Maestro Rodrigo, *circa* A.D. 1495; and the upper range were executed, half by Berruguete, and half by Felipe de Borgoña, in A.D. 1543.¹ The old stall ends are picturesque in outline, very large, and covered with tracery, panels, and carvings, with monkeys and other animals sitting on them. The upper range of stalls is raised by four steps, so that between the elbows of the lower stalls and the desk above them are spaces which are filled in with a magnificent series of bas-reliefs illustrating the various incidents of the conquest of Granada. They were executed whilst all the subjects depicted in them must have been fresh in the minds of the people; and they are full of picturesque vigour and character. The names of the fortresses are often inscribed upon the walls: in some we have the siege, in others the surrender of the keys, and in others the Catholic monarchs, accompanied by Cardinal Ximenes,

¹ These later stalls have the following inscription:—

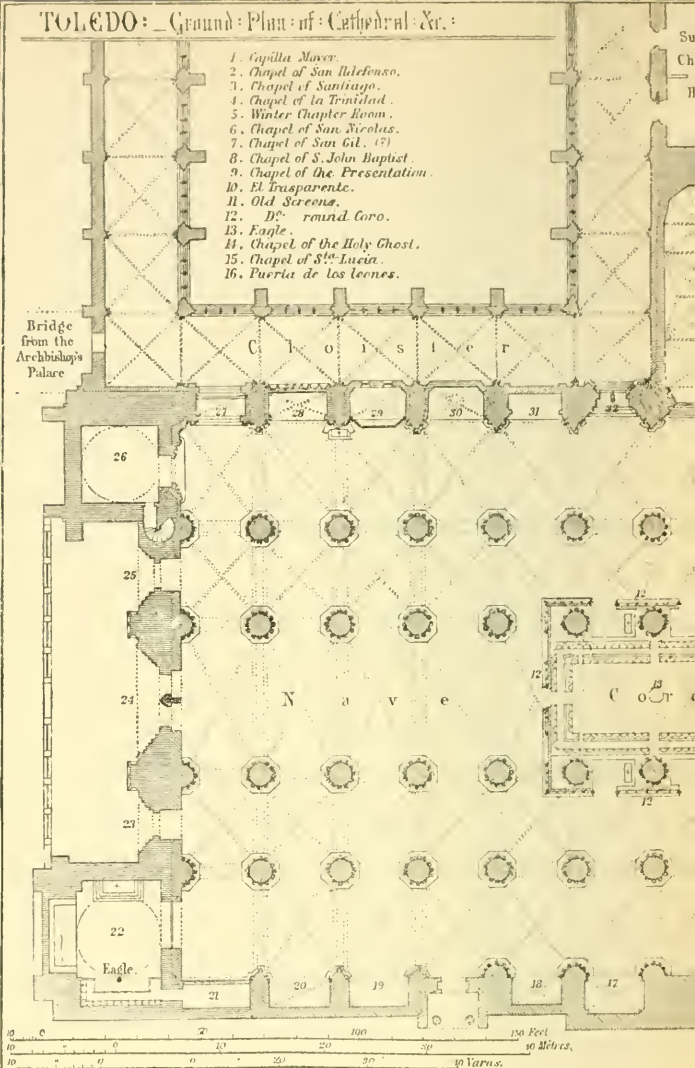
“Signa, tum marmorea, tum ligna cœlavere:
Hinc Philippus Burgundio
Ex adversum Berrugetus Hispanus
Certaverunt, tum artificium ingenia.
Certabunt semper spectatorum judicia.”

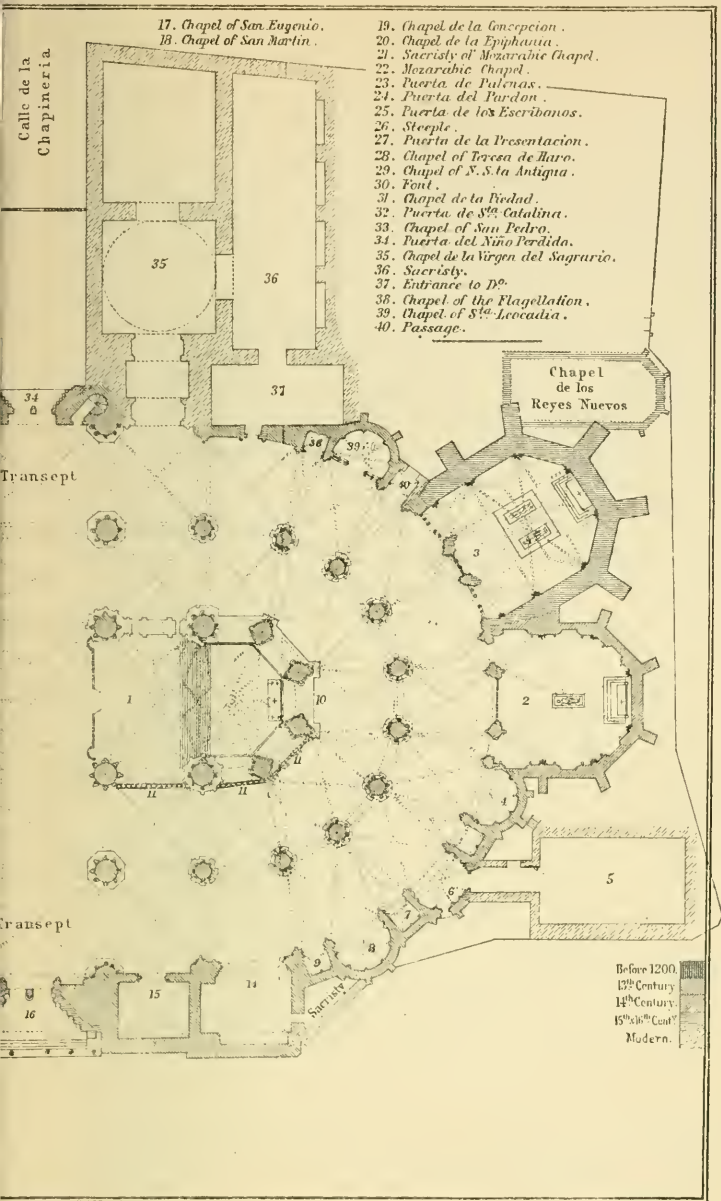
But for their whole history see *Bellas Artes en España*, v. 230. Borgoña carved the stalls on the Gospel side, Berruguete those on the Epistle side of the choir.—Ponz, *Viage de España*, i. 59. This same Felipe de Borgoña was architect of the lantern of Burgos cathedral.

TOLEDO: Ground Plan of Cathedral &c.

1. Capilla Mayor.
2. Chapel of San Ildefonso.
3. Chapel of Santiago.
4. Chapel of la Trinidad.
5. Winter Chapter Room.
6. Chapel of San Nicolas.
7. Chapel of San Gil. (?)
8. Chapel of S. John Baptist.
9. Chapel of the Presentation.
10. El Traspacente.
11. Old Screens.
12. D^o round Coro.
13. Eagle.
14. Chapel of the Holy Ghost.
15. Chapel of S^{ta} Lucia.
16. Puerta de los leones.

Bridge
from the
Archbishop's
Palace





riding in, in triumph, through the gates. It may be a fair complaint that the subjects are rather too much alike; but in subjects all of which were so similar in their story, it was, of course, difficult to avoid this. Their effect is in marked contrast to the heavy dull Paganism of the sculptures by Berruguete, whose work took the place, no doubt, of some more ancient stalls. The canopies in his work rest on columns of jasper, a material which seems to be very abundant here.

In the centre of the Coro stands the great Eagle, a magnificent work in brass. The enormous bird, with outstretched wings, is fighting a dragon which struggles between its feet; its eyes are large red stones, and it stands upon a canopied, buttressed, and pinnacled pedestal, crowded with statues, among which are those of the twelve Apostles. Six lions couchant carry the whole on their backs, and serve to complete the family likeness to other brass eagles, of which, however, this is, I think, by far the most grandiose I have ever seen.

Here as elsewhere throughout Spain the iron and brass screens are very numerous. The two Rejas, east of the Coro and west of the Capilla mayor, were finished in A.D. 1548. There is little to admire in their detail; but they are massive and bold pieces of metal-work, for the dignified simplicity of which there is much, no doubt, to be said, when we think of the terribly over-ornamented work—semi-renaissance in its feeling—which is so unfortunately fashionable among some of our own church restorers nowadays.¹ The great iron screen outside the north transept door is an earlier work, and fine in its way. The detail of this is very much like the screens already described at Palencia.

There are also many Retablos, and some of them ancient. That behind the high altar is a grand work, of so great height that it rises quite from the floor to the roof, being filled with subjects from our Lord's life, arranged with the most complete disregard to their chronology, and, so far as I could see, without any other better system of arrangement. The whole, however, is most effective, the subjects being richly painted and gilded, and the whole of the canopies and niches covered with gold, so that the effect is one of extreme richness and perfect quietness combined, the usual result of the ample use of gold. Many other small Retablos exist elsewhere (24), and many have been destroyed.²

¹ The Reja east of the Coro was designed by Domingo Cespides, by order of the Chapter, to whom he presented a model made in wood by Martinez, a carpenter.—*Toledo Pintoresca*, p. 40.

² Alonso de Covarrubias, Maestro Mayor from 1534 to 1536, mentions

The difficulty in the way of seeing to sketch anything inside the cathedral is as great as it usually is in Spain, but not at all in consequence of the absence of windows; for, as will have been seen from my description, the windows are both many and large: all of them, however, are filled with stained glass, and hence, in addition to the wonderful charm of contrasted lights and shades, which we have here in marvellous perfection, we have also the charm of seeing none but coloured rays of light where any fall through the windows on the floor or walls.

Most of the glass appeared to me to be of the fifteenth century and later. The rose of the north transept, which is earlier, has already been described; and the glass in the eastern windows of the transept clerestory (single figures under canopies) looked as if it were of the same date, or at any rate earlier than A.D. 1350. The rest of the church is glazed rather uniformly with cinquecento glass of extreme brilliancy and unusual depth of colour, the upper windows having generally single figures, the others subjects in medallions. I had not time to make out the scheme of their arrangement; but I observed that the medallions of the clerestory of the intermediate aisle began at the west end with the Expulsion from Paradise, and went on with subjects from the Old Testament.

Ot colour on the walls, little, alas! remains. They have been whitewashed throughout, and in the choir coarsely diapered with broad gilt masonry lines, edged with black. The internal tympanum of the south transept door has a tree of Jesse, and close to it is an enormous painting of S. Christopher; and the cloister walls had remains of paintings which used to be attributed (but without the slightest foundation, I believe) to Giotto, but these have now given way to new wall-paintings of poor design and no value of any kind.

The stateliness of the services here answers in some degree to the grandeur of the fabric in which they are celebrated. At eight o'clock every morning there appears to be mass at the high altar, at which the Epistle and Gospel are read from ambons in the screen in front of it, the gospeller having two lighted candles; whilst the silvery-sounding wheels of bells are rung with all their force at the elevation of the Host, in place of the single

among his works the removal of most of the Retablos, which, he says, produced a "detestable effect." For an account of the Retablo of the principal altar, and the names of the men who executed it, see Ponz, *Viage de España*, i. 65. It was designed in 1500. See also the "Life of Juan de Borgoña, in *Dicc., etc., de las Bellas Artes en España*, i. 163.

tinkling bell to which our ears are so used on the Continent.¹ The Revolution in Spain, among other odd things, has enabled the clergy here to sing the Lauds at about four o'clock in the afternoon instead of at the right time. The service at the Mozarabic Chapel at the west end of the aisle goes on at the same time as that in the Coro, and anything more puzzling than the two organs and two choirs singing as it were against each other can scarcely be conceived. There are neither seats nor chairs for the people; the worshippers, in so vast a place, seem to be few, though no doubt we should count them as many in one of our English cathedrals. I always wish, when I see a church so used, that we could revive the same custom here, and let a fair proportion, at any rate, of the people stand and kneel at large on the floor. Our chairs, benches, and pews are at least as often a nuisance to their occupiers as the contrary; and for all parts of our services, save the sermon, all but superfluous. Some day, perhaps, when we have discovered that it is not given to every one to be a good preacher, we may separate our sermons from our other services, and may live in hopes of then seeing the floors of our churches restored to the free and common use of the people, whilst some chance will be given, at the same time, to our architects of exhibiting their powers to the greatest advantage.

It would be easy to elaborate the account which I have given of this cathedral to very much greater length; for there are other erections in connection with it besides all those that I have noticed, of a grand and costly kind, owing their foundation to the builders of the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, and everywhere affording the same exhibition of magnificence and wealth; but these works are all worthless from the point of view which I

¹ I find the following interesting account of the colours used during the different seasons of the ecclesiastical year given by Blas Ortiz, *Descriptio Templi Toletani*, pp. 387, 388:—

White.—The Nativity and Resurrection of our Lord, and the feasts of the Blessed Virgin Mary and Virgins.

Red.—Epiphany, Pentecost, Festivity of Holy Cross, Apostles, Evangelists, and Martyrs, and the Victory of Benamarin.

Green.—In the procession on Palm Sunday and the Solemnity of S. John Baptist.

Saffron, or light Yellow.—On Feasts of Confessors, Doctors, and Abbots.

Blue.—Trinity Sunday, and many other Sundays.

Ash-colour.—Ash Wednesday.

Violet.—Advent and Lent, wars, and troubles.

Black.—For the Passion of our Lord, and for funerals. And besides these all sorts of colours mixed with gold on the festival of All Saints, on account of their diversity of character, and on the coming of the king or archbishops of Toledo, or of legates from the Pope.

have taken for my notes of Spanish architecture, and if I were to chronicle them I should be bound to chronicle all the works of Berruguete, Herrera, and Churriguera elsewhere, for which sad task I have neither space nor inclination. I cannot, indeed, forgive these men, when I remember that to them it is due that what remained before their time of the original design of the exterior of this church was completely modernised or concealed everywhere by their additions.

The only other great Gothic work in the city, after the cathedral, seems to be the church of San Juan de los Reyes,¹ which was erected by order of Ferdinand and Isabella, in A.D. 1476, to commemorate their victory in the battle of Toro over the King of Portugal. Nothing can be much more elaborate than much of the detail of this church, yet I have seen few buildings less pleasing or harmonious. It was erected in the age of heraldic achievements and angels with coats-of-arms are crowded over the walls. There is a nave of four bays, a Címborio or raised lantern at the Crossing, roofed with an octagonal vault with groined pendentives, quasi-transepts (they are in fact mere shallow square recesses), and a very short apsidal choir of five unequal sides. The western bay of the nave has a deep groined gallery, of the same age as the church, and in which are the stalls and organs, with two small ambons in its western balustrade: chapels are formed between the nave buttresses. Other ambons are placed at some height from the floor against the north-west and south-west piers of the Címborio. The lantern on the outside is octagonal with pinnacles at the angles and a pierced parapet.

The bald panelling of the external wall of the south transept is furnished with a ghastly kind of adornment in the chains with which Christians are said to have been confined by the Moors in Granada.

The ruling idea of the interior of this church is evidently that which, unfortunately I think, is somewhat fashionable at the present day—the bringing of the altar forward among the people without reserve or protection. The removal of the Coro to the western gallery, the shallow recess in which the altar is placed, and the broad, unbroken area of the nave, are all evidences of

¹ Hernando del Pulgar, in the *Cronica de los muy Altos y Esclarecidos Reyes Catolicos* (part ii. cap. 65), records the erection of the church in accomplishment of a vow made after the battle of Toro; and D. Francisco de Pisa, in his *Descripcion de la Imperial Ciudad*, says that Ferdinand and Isabella intended to be buried here. They changed their intention in favour of the chapel they built at Granada after the conquest.

this, and could only have been adopted when all desire to interest the people in any but the altar services had been given up, and with it that wholesome reverence which, in earlier days, had jealously guarded, fenced around, and screened these the holiest parts of holy buildings.

A blue velvet canopy still hangs above the altar; it is a square tester, with hangings at the back and on either side. The velvet is marked with vertical lines of gold lace, and the eagle of S. John—the crest of Ferdinand and Isabella—is introduced in the embroidery.

The pulpit was against one of the piers on the south side of the nave; the door into it is now stopped up, and another pulpit has been erected below the Gospel ambon. There is a gallery corbelled out from the clerestory, in front of one of the south windows, the use of which did not seem to be at all clear, unless, indeed, it was similar in object to such an example as the minstrels' gallery at Exeter Cathedral.

The old cloister, though falling down through neglect and bad usage, is, on the whole, the finest portion of the whole work; it is groined throughout, and covered with rich sculpture of foliage and animals, and saints in niches. It has been much damaged, mainly, I believe, by French soldiers during the war, and is now used in part as a picture gallery, and in part as a museum of antiquities. The pictures, like those in most of the inferior Spanish collections, are very sad, ghastly, and gloomy; but among the antiquities are many of value, including a good deal of Moorish work of various ages. The cloister is of two stages in height, the lower having traceried openings, the upper large open arches in each bay.

The refectory also remains, with ogee lierne ribs on its groining: over the entrance to it is a great cross, recessed within an arch, with a pelican at the top, and statues of S. Mary and S. John¹ on either side, but without the figure of our Lord (25).

And now I bid farewell to Toledo. Few cities that I have ever seen can compete in artistic interest with it; and none perhaps come up to it in the singular magnificence of its situation, and the endless novelty and picturesqueness of its every corner. It epitomises the whole strange history of Spain in a manner so vivid, that he who visits its old nooks and corners carefully and thoughtfully, can work out, almost unassisted, the strange variety which that history affords. For here Romans, Visigoths, Sara-

¹ Said to be portraits of Ferdinand and Isabella.—*Toledo en la Mano*, p. 137.

cens, and again Christians, have in turn held sway, and here all have left their mark; here, moreover, the Christians, since the thirteenth century, have shown two opposite examples—one of toleration of Jews and Moors, which it would be hard to find a parallel for among ourselves, and the other of intolerance, such as has no parallel out of Spain elsewhere in Europe.

I need hardly say that in such a city the post-Gothic builders have also left their mark. They have built many and imposing houses of various kinds, chief among which are the altered Alcazar, now destroyed and ruined, and the Convent of Sta. Cruz. But there was nothing in these works specially appropriate to the locality, and nothing, therefore, which takes them out of the position which their class holds elsewhere in Spain.

I believe that Toledo, in addition to all its other charms, is a good starting-point for visits to several of the best examples of mediæval Castilian castles. I have not been able to afford the time necessary for this work, and was unluckily obliged, therefore, to neglect it altogether; but the Spanish castles are so important that they deserve a volume to themselves; and it is to be hoped that ere long some one will undertake the pleasant task of examining and illustrating them.

NOTES

(1) Illescas church has a great tower in the Mudejar style, but it was rebuilt in the sixteenth century, excepting the side apses, tower, and piers, and two bays of the nave.

(2) As nothing changes in Spain except the individual life, to-day at the Fonda de Lino you may hear of an excellent guide speaking French and a little English, Cristobal Rino.

(3) The remains of the treasure are in the Archæological Museum at Madrid—a poor place, disappointing to those who know the inexhaustible spoils of Spain, from the time of the caves at Santander down through a thousand centuries.

(4) *El Cristo de la Luz* is now supposed to be a mosque of the tenth century or earlier, added to by Bishop Bernard in the eleventh, the transepts encased in an outer wall and the apses rebuilt by Cardinal Mendoza in the fifteenth. The capitals and shafts are probably taken from an earlier Moorish work, which itself used Visigothic material. The nave may have been originally a Visigothic baptistery. In 1871 mural paintings were discovered at the ends of the transepts, SS. Martina and Eulalia, Leocadia and Obdulia, with a monk—perhaps Archbishop Bernard; they are supposed to date from the pontificate of Dom Gonzalo Perez, 1182-93. The style is Byzantine, but between ruin and repainting they do not contribute much to our knowledge. In 1899 the north

west façade was discovered and cleared. At present the north-east façade is all restored.

(5) Read: "the central bay——." It is probably tenth century, named from the street, built under Hixem II. The key is kept at the other side of the town in the house of the gentleman who owns it.

(6) San Roman is rarely open. Señor Lampérez places it in the first half of the twelfth century.

(7) The first mention of this church is the rather shocking story of S. Vincent Ferrer raising a mob to storm it. The restoration before Street saw it was a trifle rash, and there is no way to know if the original capitals were like the present, which are Grenadine work. There were similar ones in the church of Corpus Cristi, Segovia, taken from the Jews *circa* 1410 by even more discreditable measures, but it was burned on August 3, 1899, and the present church is entirely new. If not the antecedent of these pine-cone capitals, something at any rate remarkably like them exists in the *Panteon* of San Isidoro, Leon, which again is anticipated in a crude form in the nave of the Madeleine at Vézelay.

(8) *El Transito* has been restored, the retables and western gallery removed, and the women's gallery along the south side re-opened.

(9) It is doubtful. The new series of *Monumentos Arquitectonicos* has published a magnificent volume on Toledo, which describes, depicts, and discusses whatever of Moorish remains.

(10) This is the parish church of Santa Leocadia in the town.

(11) San Eugenio certainly figures on the plate in *Mon. Arq.* (original series), but I could get no news of it in Toledo.

(12) Some of the internal arrangements are changed a trifle. The painting mentioned is part of a large retablo of S. Benedict, very Italianate with a look of Pinturicchio, but both native and naïve withal. The Retablo Mayor is Renaissance, rich and good. This San Roman is in no way connected with the Bishop of Rouen; he is a Benedictine martyr with a palm, who continued to preach after his tongue was cut out.

(13) It contains Greco's Burial of the Count of Orgaz. The Grecos are leaving Toledo very fast.

(14) Read, probably: "without damage to the tower."

(15) Señor Don Amador de los Rios gives the age of the towers in the following order: San Roman (late thirteenth and early fourteenth); Santo Tomé (second half of fourteenth); San Pedro Martir; Santa Leocadia (perhaps sixteenth century like the church); la Concepcion (first half of the sixteenth).

(16) Santiago del Arribal was founded by the dethroned Sancho II. of Portugal (died 1217) and finished by Commander Diosdado in the second half of the century; it is strictly Mudejar, but the builders were not working freely, but copying brickwork in old Castile. The tower is earlier, the *alminar* of a mosque; and the hidden ceiling may not be of the thirteenth century; certainly in the fifteenth it was repainted. From the pulpit S. Vincent Ferrer inflamed the crowd and then led the invasion of the mosque on the other side of the town. In the Capilla Mayor a superb carved retablo relates the whole legend of S. James.

(17) Both the church and the convent of S. Elizabeth (Isabel) are full of Mudejar work. The church boasts a fine artesonado ceiling of the sixteenth century and a full set of carved and gilded retables. The long story of the foundation, in 1477, falls a little late for this book.

(18) S. Ursula has in a late Gothic chapel a lovely Visitation, carved and gilded; and an Annunciation above a saintly bishop between the two SS. John, with a donor adoring the Crucified, and an inscription saying that this Devotion was ordered by Quigo de Troes for the honour and reverence of his patron saints.

(19) The apse of La Concepcion is circular. The chapel of S. Jerome has paintings of the end of the fifteenth century and a dome of wood and tile, like the Moorish half-orange. The inscription says: "This chapel had made Gonzago Lopez de la Fuente, merchant, son of Gudiel Alfonso Trapero, for his burial and that of Maria Gonzalez, his wife, for the service of God and of the Virgin S. Mary and the Lord S. Christopher. It was finished and Alfonso Fernandez Solado made it in the year of the Lord 1422."

(20) Santa Fé belonged to the Comendadoras de Santiago, hence the cross of S. James everywhere. The chapel of Our Lady of Bethlehem has a dome dated fourth century of the Hegira (*i.e.* tenth century). The Mudejar apse is now the *locutorio* or nuns' parlour.

(21) These are not visible.

(22) To these may be added two more mentioned by Señor Lampérez: In Santa Eulalia (founded 559) the present church has three aisles and three apses (those at the sides being square), but the only Mozarabic part is the nave, with round horse-shoe arches; this is not later than the Reconquest. San Sebastian was dug out of its plaster casing in 1879 by D. Manuel Simancas. It was a Visigothic church in 602; at present it has marble columns with Visigothic and Roman capitals, horse-shoe arches, three aisles and no apse, a wooden ceiling. In 1166 it was again a church; the tower, thrust into the upper left-hand corner, belongs to that date, but the church is probably the earlier mosque with apses cut off and a new façade built on.

I am heartily sorry I did not know of these the last time I was in Toledo, nor yet of Santa Maria de Mulaque (thirty kilometres off), built with horse-shoe arches in the shape of a Greek cross, with a central apse and smaller square apses filling up the two eastern corners, apparently somewhat as at San Miguel de Tarassa.

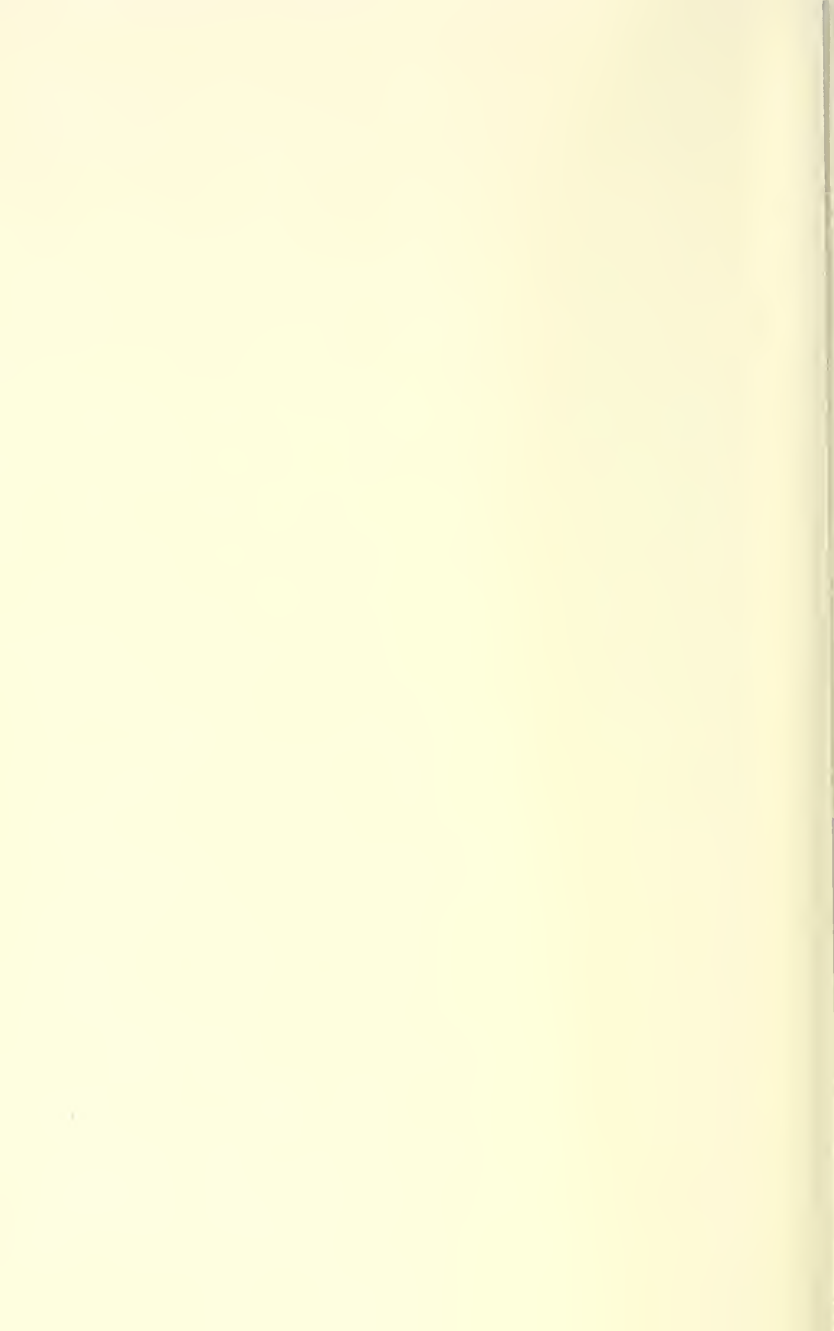
(23) M. Camille Enlart wants to make him out that same Peter of Corbie with whom Villard de Honnecourt devised a plan for an apse with ambulatory and radiating chapels, but he hardly convinces.

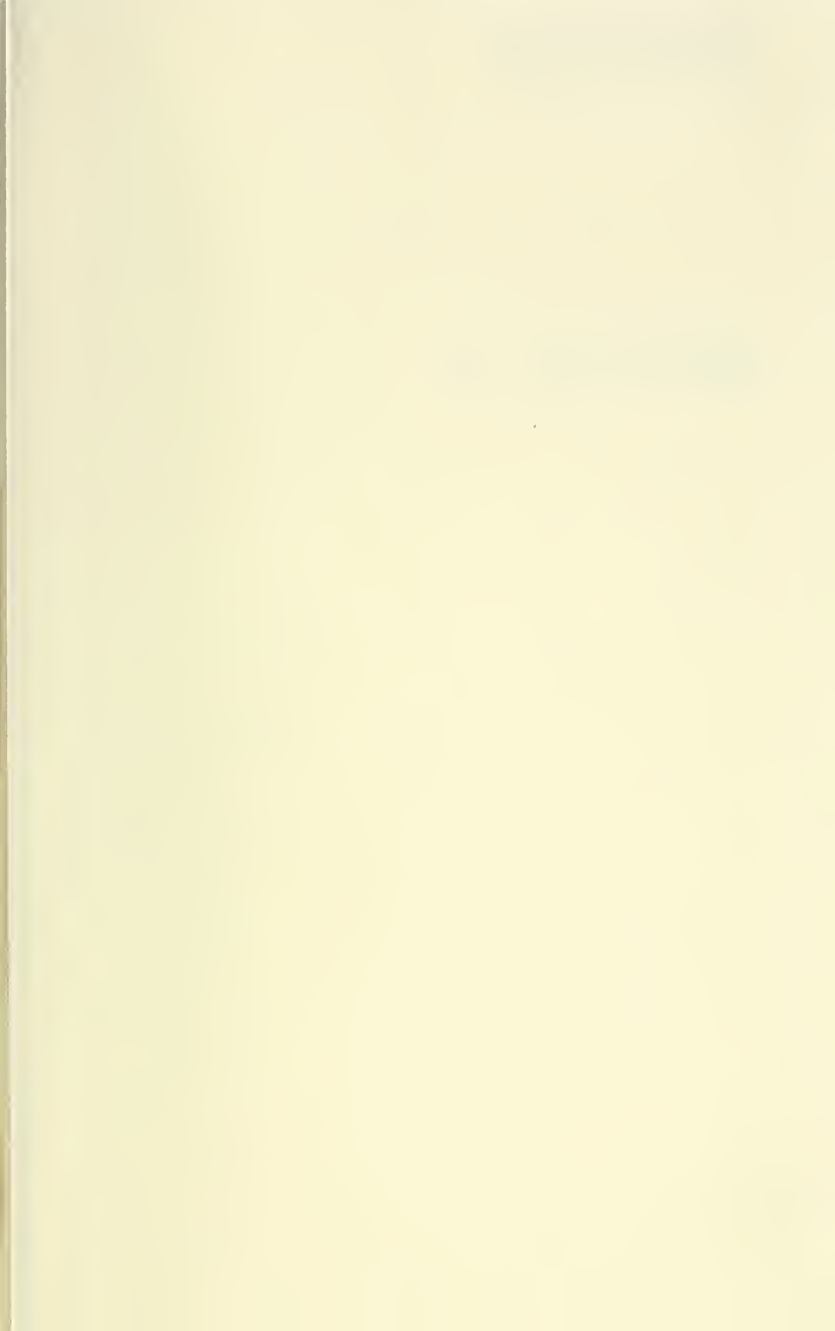
(24) In chapels all down the south side are early retables of interest and value, where Italian and Flemish influences play in varying measure over the substantial qualities of Spanish feeling, hardly modifying the Spanish instinct for splendour of surface. That of the Capilla Mayor is hard to make out for the colour, and the colour in itself of no more value than that of leather or lacquer. It is all like a scene in grandiose opera, dependent on gesture and the general composition of the action, not on expression or line.

The art of the Spanish retablo of the high Renaissance bears the same relation to sculpture that acting does to poetry and painting. In the sacristy is a famous Greco, and a set of Apostles. A Bellini was among the other treasures, but I failed for some reason to find it the last time I was in Toledo.

(25) S. John of the Kings was built by Johan Guas, and is at present under restoration, stripped and full of scaffolding, the nave boarded off and inaccessible. The cloister is spick and span in new, rather unreal, and perfectly dead traceries. The refectory, at present undergoing the same fate, was formerly the museum, and whatever it then contained is now invisible. The house of Greco having been piously cleared out, repaired, and lived in, has now become a public pleasure in the manner of the Poldi-Pezzoli Museum at Milan, and the new Greco Museum next door has already rescued from private sale another set of Apostles, the beautiful map of Toledo, the Saint Bernardino, and a good many more of that most modern of all old masters, just now rather too sought after for the good of Spain. It has, however, nothing to compare with the Crucified and Donors in the Louvre, or the view of Toledo in the Durand-Ruel collection. There are three more pictures of his (I think) in the Hospital of S. John Baptist, and I hardly know what others scattered through churches and private houses in Toledo. The Hospital contains also the tomb of Cardinal Tavera, by Berruguete, in which the cardinal seems a dead man, face and hands alike, and the marble is more plastic than wax, with an unpleasant effect, as if it were just "set." The four cardinal virtues at the corners are rather soft and luxurious, and the reliefs below fluid and over-expressive in the manner of Verlaïne. It gives about the best of Berruguete, as Valladolid gave the worst; one can see why and how he would be admired for an exhibition, not merely dextrous, but subtly felt—for the pleasure of the taste of the feeling. The loveliness is real and truly decadent, not in the least, here, overblown.

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